When Love Kills:

Constructions of Masculinities within the Intimate Femicide Crisis in Botswana

by

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Declaration

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Abstract

Gender based violence towards women is a human rights issue and a social crisis that is pervasive across countries, including Botswana. The extreme consequence of gender violence is women ultimately getting killed by men, including their intimate partners, which comes as a result of women's vulnerability and oppression in a patriarchal, sexist, and violent society. This phenomenon, termed intimate femicide, is not sufficiently documented in Botswana. Although men have been identified as predominantly perpetrators in these incidents, the way in which they become men and centralise violence in their lives, sometimes ultimately killing women, remains a lacuna in gender studies. Using thematic analysis and a feminist theoretical perspective, this exploratory qualitative study aimed to develop an understanding of how men make sense of their manhood and intimate femicide, and to explore some of the normative ideas they have about masculinity. This was done by identifying and unpacking how those ideals might contribute to an environment in which violence against women is normalised and perpetuated. Normal expressions of masculinities in a normative context were interrogated, to explore how pathological expressions of masculinity become possible. The study utilised focus group discussions with a sampled of men recruited from a social sporting setting where they socialise as a collective. It was found that participants' aspirational performances of being successful men and idealised behaviours found expression in the notion of a 'real man'. Furthermore, due to being located as subjects within a continuously changing environment, performing being a man is not reflective of a fixed category. To make sense of the contestation and tension that comes with this, participants' discourse was mainly characterised by a sense of shifting and locating the blame of a violent masculinity elsewhere, particularly on other forms of masculinity, other cultures, the media, women, and feminism as an ideology. There exists a need to interrogate and document how to re-(create) positive masculinities devoid of toxicity and violence to curb gender-based violence in our society.

This study adds on to the limited research on masculinities and intimate femicide in Botswana and the continent.

Key words: Gender Based Violence, Intimate Femicide, Masculinities, Feminism

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Dedication

To Mama, the noor of my heart. Even the veil of death cannot separate us. May you keep resting in immaculate peace. I love you!

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Chapter 1 provides a description of the research problem, focus and context of the study. A review of gender-based violence; specifically, intimate femicide research in Africa and in Botswana in particular, is briefly discussed. Furthermore, a brief clarification of main concepts for clearer understanding is offered, followed by a discussion of the Botswana context. The section is concluded with a statement of the rationale, aims of the study and an outline of the thesis.

1.1 Problem Statement and Focus

Gender based violence towards women remains a pervasive and urgent social crisis around the world, continuously brought to the fore by gender activists, policy makers, world leaders and researchers (Bloom, 2008). Not only is it a public health issue, but it also infringes upon women's basic human rights (Heise, 1998; Jewkes, 2002; Heise, Ellsberg & Goetmoller, 2002; Alao, 2006; Campbell, Glass, Sharps, Laughon & Bloom, 2007; Bloom, 2008; Boonzaier, 2008; Ratele, 2008; Jankey, 2009; Thaler, 2012). Despite efforts to control and curb this social crisis, statistics from several studies demonstrate that the phenomenon continues to escalate across countries (Frye & Wilt, 2001; Mathews, Abrahams, Martin, Jewkes, 2004; Jewkes, Levin, & Penn-Kekana 2002; Ratele, 2008). The World Health Organisation (WHO) published that about 1 in 3 (35%) of women worldwide have experienced either physical and/or sexual intimate partner violence or non-partner sexual violence in their lifetime (WHO, 2020). In the 2015 Southern Africa Development Committee (SADC) Gender Protocol barometer, it is reported that 67% of women in Botswana will experience some form of gender-based violence in their lifetime. This is in comparison with Lesotho, Zimbabwe, and South Africa standing at 86%, 68% and 50% respectively.

Within the Gender based violence continuum, the WHO population surveys indicate that 10% – 69% of women have been specifically abused by an intimate partner. At the extreme end of gender-based violence, women ultimately are killed by their intimate partners (Heise, 1998; Jewkes, 2002; Abrahams, Mathews, Martin, Lombard & Jewkes, 2013).

Feminists term the killing of women by their partners 'intimate femicide' (Stout, 1991; Vettel, 1995). This is an attempt to bring into public discourse and focus the highly prevalent private violence women experience in intimate relationships (Vettel, 1995; Jewkes, 2002; Jewkes et al., 2002; Strange, 2003). Vettel further elucidates that the term femicide is employed to underscore the fact that women are killed simply by virtue of them being women. Their vulnerability in a patriarchal, sexist, and violent society heightens their chances of being killed.

Intimate femicide is highly prevalent with the WHO reporting that globally, as many as 38% of murders of women are committed by a male intimate partner (WHO, 2020). In a review conducted by Stöckl, Devries, Rotstein, Abraham, Campbell, Watts & Moreno (2013) on data on homicide in 66 countries, they report that at least one in seven homicides globally and more than a third of female homicides are perpetrated by an intimate partner. Stöckl et al., further highlight that intimate femicide recorded in Southeast Asia stood at (58.8%), the Americas (40.5%), and Africa (40.1%).

Intimate femicide is also prevalent in various countries in Southern Africa, including Botswana, Namibia, South Africa, and Zambia (Andrikah, 1999; Mookodi & Fuh, 2004; Alao, 2006; Jason, 2012; Nyakujarah, 2013; Abraham, Mathews, martin, Lombard & Jewkes, 2013). Even though the prevalence is reported, particularly through newspapers, it is difficult to get official statistics – in fact, in most cases statistics are not adequately researched and documented (Exner & Thurston, 2009; Stöckl et al., 2013). In many countries, particularly

low-income and middle-income settings, national data for homicides are incomplete, and where available are through the police and or mortuaries (Stöckl et al., 2013).

Although there is insufficient statistics, there is also limited research available on intimate femicide in most of these countries and other developing countries (Jewkes, 2002; Alao, 2006; Exner & Thurston, 2009; Stöckl et al., 2013; Setlalekgosi, 2015). This posts a problem in documenting the reality of the perversity of the issue through statistics.

In the Southern African context, South Africa presents somewhat of an exception regarding the availability of information on intimate femicide. Research, although limited, has been done in South Africa (Mathews, Abrahams, Martin, Jewkes, 2004; Mathews, 2010; Mathews et al., 2011). Studies report that South Africa holds the highest rate of reported intimate femicide cases anywhere in the world, which is six times more than the global average (Mathews et al., 2004; Mathews, Jewkes & Abrahams, 2011; Abrahams et al., 2013). To demonstrate the perversity of this crime against women, a report on intimate femicide in South Africa showed that one woman is killed every six hours (Mathews, Abrahams, Martin, Vetten, Van Der Merwe & Jewkes, 2004). According to Mathews (2010), of all female murders recorded in South Africa, more than 50% were perpetrated by the victim's intimate male partner.

Unfortunately, as posited by Stöckl et al. 2013, in many developing countries and it is the case in Botswana (Mookodi & Fuh, 2004; Exner & Thurston, 2009; Nunuhe, 2014; Setlalekgosi, 2015), there is limited statistics demonstrating the perversity of intimate femicide. The media and newspapers provide information on intimate femicide and somewhat reflect the reality on the ground. However, the real picture of what is on the ground is not adequately documented. In Botswana and Namibia, the media often refers to intimate femicide as 'passion killings', a term that is often used when reporting or discussing this crime (Exner &Thurston, 2009; Jason, 2012).

Botswana has experienced an increase in the cases of intimate femicide (Alao, 2006). From January to October 2005 only, 69 women were killed by their partners in what the media generally refer to as 'passion killings' (Alao, 2006). Between 2003 and 2006, there were 225 reported cases of intimate femicide (Botswana Police Service, 2008). The Commissioner of Police, Keabetswe Makgophe decried the increase of crimes in the Molepolole district especially cases of murder, threat to kill, rape, attempted rape and defilement between 2015 and 2019, with some general increase in 2019 as compared to 2018 across (Bothoko, 2020).

Although intimate partners' killings can be perpetrated by both men and women, studies have shown that men are largely the perpetrators (Vettel, 1995; Andrikah, 1999; Dahlberg & Krug, 2002; Mathews, Abrahams, Martin, Jewkes, 2004; Clowes, Lazarus & Ratele, 2010; Stock et al., 2013). In Botswana, the perpetrators of this crime are largely men (Dingake, 2006). There is therefore an interest by the researcher to interrogate constructs and daily expressions of masculinity and how those are linked to gendered violence and make incidents of intimate femicide possible. Connell (2003) posits that there is a connection between masculinity and gendered violence, and therefore a need to interrogate the social occurrences and spaces that facilitates this connection.

Dobash, Dobash & Cavanagh (2009) posits that men who commit femicide often have a history of being violent towards their intimate partners. Furthermore, they may have substance use problems, mental health issues, have been victims of abuse during their childhood, and generally have the desire to control and dominate women as supported by societal norms and attitudes in the society they live in. (Dobash et al., 2009).

At the heart of male violence lies a masculinity construct in a patriarchal setup which romanticise the use of violence in intimate relationships (hooks, 1984; Dingake, 2006; Lorde 2007). It also then follows logic that Alao (2006) views intimate femicide as a crisis of patriarchy as a system. This is because patriarchy is a societal system that dictates how individuals behave, as well as socialise them into various roles and behaviours and creates a social order that facilitates men's dominance and control (Morrell, 1998; Jewkes, 2002; Dingake, 2006).

Like other African societies, the Botswana familial setup is patriarchal (Tshitswana, 2003). Patriarchy specifically socialises and demands dominance and superiority over women's bodies and spaces by men. The normalised use and acceptance of violence by men towards women can therefore be viewed as behaviours and expressions facilitated by patriarchy and consequently contributing to a culture of abuse in a quest to cement male dominance.

However, the study of masculinities and how masculinity is shaped in a patriarchal society remains a lacuna in the discourses of gender-based violence globally, and in Southern Africa (Connell, 1990; Morrell, 1998; Dingake, 2006; Ratele, 2006, Ratele, 2008). Morrell states that the introduction and understanding of the concept of masculinities may contribute practically in reducing violence, including intimate violence prevention strategies that must be holistic in approach; with 'holistic' here alluding to a sensitivity towards both the perpetrator and the victim's agency, lived experiences and how they make sense of those experiences.

Although the statistics on intimate femicide occurrences in Botswana is generally not adequate and up to date, newspapers in Botswana give an indication of the seriousness of the reality on the ground regarding intimate femicide. Furthermore, there is limited research on intimate femicide and masculinity constructs in Botswana to fully understand the everyday

expressions of being a man, and how these facilitates the normalisation of intimate femicide. It is against this backdrop that the researcher is then interested in understanding every day and normalised expressions of masculinities, how they are constructed and how this has an influence on intimate femicide occurrences in Botswana.

This study will focus on a sample of Batswana men in Gaborone city above the legal age of 18, with no specific focus to their socio-economic status. The study will aim to investigate and explore their constructions of their masculinity, including the meaning they attach to manhood, and how they make sense of intimate femicide.

1.2 Definition of Terminology

Before moving on to the analysis and discussion of intimate femicide and constructs of masculinities, it is necessary to briefly explain a number of key concepts for understanding how men construct their masculinities in Botswana as well as their perception of intimate femicide.

1.2.1 Gender Based Violence

The World Health Organisation (WHO) (2002) defines gender-based violence as an act that is likely to result in physical, sexual, or psychological harm towards women. This can take place through various forms, including sexually, psychologically, emotionally, and physically. At the extreme end of the gender-based violence continuum, women ultimately get killed, including by their intimate partners (Heise, 1998; Jewkes, 2002; Jewkes, Dunkle, Nduna & Shai, 2010; Stöckl et al., 2013). Although violence can be perpetrated by women towards men, in most reported cases violence is largely perpetuated by men against women (Jewkes, 2002; Moffett, 2006). The intention and effect of gender-based violence, according to Green (1999), is to uphold hierarchal gender relations and maintain some sense of power by controlling women either physically, emotionally, sexually, or otherwise.

1.2.2 Intimate Femicide

Mathews, Abrahams, Jewkes, Martin, Lombard, & Vetten (2008) explain intimate femicide as the killing of a woman by someone she considers an intimate partner. This is the fatal consequence of gender-based violence as it manifests in an intimate relationship (Heise, 1998; Jewkes, 2002). Intimate partners include a husband, ex-husband, boyfriend, ex-boyfriend, or a rejected would-be-lover. The same is applicable for same-sex partners (Mathews et al., 2008). However, this study will focus on intimate femicide as it occurs in heterosexual intimate relationships. Strange (2003) mentions that this crime was labelled intimate femicide by radical feminists as an attempt to bring to attention to the prevalence of violence that occurs in private spaces specifically by intimate partners towards women. This violence is a patriarchal tool that attempts to police, dominate, and claim a 'natural' ownership of women by men (Green, 1999; Poulin & Graham, 2001; Dingake, 2006; Dobash et al., 2009).

1.2.3 Patriarchy

Since gender-based violence including intimate femicide, is rooted in the patriarchal system (Green, 1991; Poulin & Graham, 2001; Jewkes, 2002; Dobash et al., 2009; Dobash et al., 2011), it is necessary to briefly define patriarchy. Boonzaier (2008) explains patriarchy as a societal system that allows domination of women by men. hooks (1984) reiterate this: along with patriarchy comes a belief in the inherent superiority of men and the inherent weakness of women. This consequently gives a perceived right to dominance and control of women by men, by any means necessary. Various patriarchal traditions, practices, and institutions such as religion, schools, the political arena, family, and the economy are examples of spaces in which the dominance of women by men is manifested (hooks, 1984, 2000; Hearn, 1987; Lorde, 1987; Green, 1999; Poulin & Graham, 2001; Jewkes, 2002; Dingake; 2006; Ratele, 2006; Mathew et al., 2008; Ratele, 2008; Ratele, 2017). Some patriarchal norms are often

linked to assault in domestic relations, specifically partner assault, beating, which are all a form of control over women by men (Tonsing & Tonsing, 2017). Generally, women are oppressed and violated, and this is facilitated by the normalisation and use of violence in a patriarchal setup.

1.2.4 Feminism

In her book, *Feminist Theory: from Margin to Centre*, renowned black feminist bell hooks (1984) define feminism simply as 'the struggle to end sexist oppression' (p. 26). Since it has already been established that patriarchy allows for the domination and oppression of women, it is therefore only logical to view feminism as an ideology that attempts to dismantle patriarchy and patriarchal practices. hooks further take away the misconception that feminism is reducible to male-hating or male-bashing, but rather an attack on a socio-political system that both male and females are socialised into. This idea by hooks is further advanced by Nkealah (2007), in her paper where she writes about the challenges African women writers have in locating themselves as feminists.

Feminism can be traced back to at least the 1800s, when women fought against injustices largely associated with political participation, voting and work rights (hooks, 1984, 2000; Lorde, 2007). The feminist movement continued to grow into a second wave, focusing on women and their bodies and sexual rights, i.e., reproductive justice. It is noteworthy that feminism was fundamentally linked to the needs and experiences of mostly white women (hooks, 2000). The history of feminism was configured in such a way that all women were viewed to be suffering the same kind of oppression, an idea that has been and continues to be contested by black and African feminists including Audre Lorde, contemporary African feminists Pumla Gqola, Danai Mupotsa and Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie. The contestation is based upon the idea that women from different backgrounds have varying lived experiences and agency influenced by existing social structures of sexism, classism, colonialism, and

racism (Gqola, 2011; Ahmed, 2017). A feminism which is not sensitive to these lived experiences will therefore not serve any real purpose (Lorde, 2007). It is necessary to understand that the starting point of feminism is to end sexist oppression, but the movement has a duty to move towards acknowledging and focusing on intersectionality of sex, race, ableism, and class in order to adequately deal with patriarchal oppression affecting different women (hooks, 1984; Ardnt, 2011; Ahmed, 2017).

1.2.5 Masculinity

To understand why men use violence against their intimate partners, it is necessary to interrogate the socio-cultural, economic, and political system that socialise them, and how violence is placed and maintained in that system (Connell, 1995: Connell, 2003; Morrell, 1998; Ratele, 2008; Ratele, Shefer, Strebel & Fouten, 2014; Ratele, 2017). It is important to unpack how they learn and become violent men in the society. 'Masculinities' scholarship is increasingly getting attention in the social science space (e.g., Connell, 1987; Connell, 1995; Connell, 2003; Ratele, 2006; Clowes, Ratele & Shefer, 2013; Ratele, 2015).

This growing body of literature adds to a research agenda that aims to critically examine and engage with men's experiences and positionality in the society (Morrell, 1998; Ratele, 2017). This was an attempt to move away from a scholarship that only viewed men as biological beings, without acknowledging the social construction of men's behaviour and how masculinity is influenced by the socio-cultural, historical, and other contextual factors in the society they exist in (Cohen, 1990; Morrell, 1998; Connell, 2005; Ratele, 2006; Ratele, 2008). Scholars have explained masculinity as a collective gender identity consisting of behaviours that men are expected and encouraged to live by in a particular society (Connell, 2003; Ratele, 2015). Haywood and Mac an Ghaill (2003) define masculinity as 'Ways of becoming a man in a given culture' (p. 154).

In any society, there is multiplicity of masculinities which mirror the intersectionality between various strata such as age, class, race, ethnicity, religion, and geographic location (Cohen, 1990; Morrel, 1998; Haywood et.al., 2003; Ratele, 2006; Morrell, Jewkes & Lenderger, 2012). It is worth mentioning that these existing multiple masculinities are not equal in terms of power and domination. Instead, there is an expression of the ideal masculinity that holds more power and dominance even over other existing expressions of masculinities, with men then being expected to exhibit these ideal masculinity traits (Morrell, 1998; Renold, 2001; Ratele, 2008). This ideal masculinity, termed hegemonic masculinity (Connell, 1987), is the supreme construct of masculinity that men use as a yardstick to measure themselves against. Men are then constantly measured against this masculinity by those around them in society, including other men and women in general. It therefore then follows logically that men in any patriarchal society, including the Botswana society aspire to this masculinity by virtue of it having placed itself in a position of dominance.

1.3 The Botswana Context

Botswana is a landlocked country in Southern Africa. It shares borders with South Africa to the East, South and South East, Zimbabwe to the North and North East, Zambia to the North West, and Namibia to the West and North West. The country occupies a space of about 581, 700 square kilometres and has a population, according to the 2011 population and housing census, of 2 038 228 people (Statistics Botswana, 2014).

Gaborone is the capital city of Botswana and it is located on the South East part of the country. In 2011, the population of the city stood at an estimate of 231 592 (Statistics Botswana, 2014). Although there are several languages spoken in Botswana, Setswana is the national and widely spoken language in the country (Lekorwe, Molomo, Molefe, Sebudubudu, Mokgatlhe & Moseki, 2005). Lekorwe et al. mentions that 86% of the population speaks Setswana. English is the official language and schools using it as a medium of instruction.

Botswana is classified as an upper –middle income country by international organisations such as the World Bank and International Monetary Fund (Honde & Abraha, 2015). The country performs very well in terms of political stability, transparency, governance, and democracy in comparison with other African countries (Siphambe, 2004). The 2015 Mo Ibrahim index of African governance ranked Botswana amongst the top10 best performing country in Africa, in terms of governance (Mo Ibrahim Foundation, 2015). Botswana has been hailed ‘a shining example of peace and democracy in Africa’ by various international institutions including the African Union, the United Nations, and the Mo Ibrahim Foundation.

Like many African societies, the Botswana familial and societal setup is patriarchal (Tshitswana, 2003). There are gender roles which govern how men and women relate to each other (Denbow & Thebe, 2006). Women and men are socially expected to abide by

traditional role expectations. Men are expected to be financial providers, assume an authoritative position, be disciplinarians in families and exhibit less 'soft' emotions such as crying, or complaining (Denbow & Thebe, 2006). Women, on the contrary, are expected to exhibit obedience and respect, which entails not asking questions and not talking back to men. They are also expected to do housework including cooking, cleaning, and taking care of men and children.

Although Botswana is well known for its peace as a nation, one could argue that this stands in contrast with the lack of peace in Batswana's' interpersonal relationships, as reflected by the reported prevalence rates of gender-based violence (Mookodi & Fuh, 2004; Phorano, Nthomang & Ntseane, 2012). In the 2015 Southern Africa Development Committee (SADC) Gender Protocol barometer it is reported that 67% of women in Botswana will experience some form of gender-based violence in their lifetime. This is in comparison with Lesotho, Zimbabwe, and South Africa standing at 86%, 68% and 50% respectively. Furthermore, 3 in 5 women in Botswana have been victims of intimate partner violence specifically, in their lifetime (Gender Links, 2012).

1.4 Rationale

Botswana has experienced an increase in the cases of intimate femicide (Alao, 2006). From January to October 2005 only, 69 women were killed by their partners in what the media generally refer to as 'passion killings' (Alao, 2006). Between 2003 and 2006, there were 225 reported cases of intimate femicide (Botswana Police Service, 2008). It seems as if these numbers keep increasing on a yearly basis, demonstrating a need to prioritise the issue and make an increased investment to curb and prevent more of this human rights violation.

The Commissioner of Police, Keabetswe Makgophe decried the increase of crimes in the Molepolole district especially cases of murder, threat to kill, rape, attempted rape, and

defilement between 2015 and 2019, with some general increase in 2019 as compared to 2018 across (Bothoko, 2020).

Abrahams, Mathews, Jewkes, Martin and Lombard (2012) report that few studies have been carried out on intimate femicide in developing countries, even though it remains pervasive and a gross infringement on basic human rights. The same goes for the status of intimate femicide research in Botswana (Mookodi & Fuh, 2006; Alao, 2006). There are few studies done to understand the phenomena.

Katz (1998) views intimate femicide as a 'righteous crime' perpetrated by men, because the perpetrators have a generally contorted and self-serving belief that they are morally justified in killing their female intimate partners. This is fuelled by the normative usage of violence by men on women as a form of dominance and control in a patriarchal society. This is embedded and expressed through social institutions like family, schools, and churches, which allows for the perpetuation and maintenance of violence against women by men.

It then would be beneficial to investigate and explore how a sample of men's masculinity in Botswana is constructed to get an understanding of their perception on intimate femicide. I am interested in understanding how this sample of men make sense of their manhood and exploring some of the normative ideas they have about masculinity. I further am interested in unpacking how those ideals might contribute to an environment in which violence is normalised. The study will not interrogate perpetrators of intimate femicide, but rather is interested at interrogating everyday expressions of masculinities in a normative context in which pathological expressions of masculinity become possible. The long-term necessity of the study is that it will contribute to the limited literature on intimate femicide and constructs of masculinities.

Abrahams et al. (2012) mention that findings on intimate femicide studies can be used to contribute to the limited literature on the issue as well as to be extensively used in advocacy campaigns. The researcher will share findings with civil society organisations working on gendered violence in Botswana. According to Taylor and Jasinki (2001), the ultimate goal of femicide research in the social sciences is to provide understanding of this phenomenon. This information will ultimately be used in curbing the prevalence of intimate femicide, by informing policymakers and women's rights activists and civil society organisation.

Therefore, the primary objective of this study is to

1. Gain an understanding of how a sample of men in Botswana make sense of their manhood.
2. Investigate how this sample of men perceive intimate femicide, focusing specifically on how their conceptions of masculinity impact on their perception on gender violence.
3. Increase awareness amongst members of the society by acknowledging the nature and intensity of intimate femicide as it currently is in Botswana through publishing this study, and sharing articles relating to femicide on local newspapers.

1.5 Scope of the Study

This is an exploratory study limited to the Botswana context, specifically based in Gaborone city.

1.6 Thesis Outline

The thesis consists of five chapters. After the outline of the aims and focus of the study in the current chapter, the second chapter reviews the extant literature on, firstly, intimate femicide, focusing on prevalence rates, risk factors as well as prevention strategies; and secondly, on the construction of masculinities in patriarchal societies, approached from a

feminist theoretical perspective. The third chapter provides an outline of the methods and procedures followed in the execution of the study. The fourth chapter presents a thematic analysis of the qualitative data as well as a discussion of the meaning of the findings. The last chapter is a conclusion of the thesis, with some recommendations and a highlight of the limitation and general challenges of the study.

Chapter 2: Literature review

2.1 Prevalence of intimate femicide

2.1.1 Global Statistics on Intimate Femicide.

Globally there is a shortage of intimate femicide studies, data, and literature and, therefore it is difficult to realistically and adequately describe and attend to the magnitude of the problem (Alao, 2006; Abrahams, Mathews, Jewkes, Martin & Lombard, 2012). Studies that report on the prevalence of intimate femicide mainly use data from police homicide databases (Wilsom, 1992; Adinkrah 1999; Mouzos & Makkai 2004). Other studies report on data collected primarily from mortuary records and medical examiners (Moracco, Runyan, & Butts, 1998). In a study by Wilson, Daly, and Wright (1993), the Statistics Canada homicide archive database is used to get statistics on spousal homicide in Canada. 1333 cases of women killed by their husbands as registered between 1974 and 1990. In New South Wales, Australia, 303 women are killed by their husbands between 1968 and 1986, while 99 women are killed by their husbands in Scotland between 1979 and 1987 (Wilson et al., 1993). The study further concluded that in Canada, a married woman is nine times more likely to be killed by her husband than a stranger. This is the sheer reality of the brutality waged against women's bodies by their loved ones, across nations.

WHO reports that globally, as many as 38% of murders of women are committed by a male intimate partner (WHO, 2020). In a review conducted by Stöckl, Devries, Rotstein, Abraham, Campbell, Watts & Moreno (2013) on data on homicide in 66 countries, they report that at least one in seven homicides globally and more than a third of female homicides are perpetrated by an intimate partner. Stöckl et al., further highlight that intimate femicide recorded in Southeast Asia stood at (58.8%), the Americas (40.5%), and Africa (40.1%).

2.1.2 Statistics in African Countries.

Intimate femicide is also rampant in different African countries. In Namibia, statistics availed by one of the newspapers stated that 36 women were murdered by their intimate lovers from January 2013 to January 2014 (Nunuhe, 2014). In South Africa, research has shown that the country has the highest rate (8.8 per 100 000 females of 14 years and above) of reported intimate femicide cases anywhere in the world (Mathews, Abrahams, Martin, & Jewkes, 2004). A Medical Research Council study on female homicide in South Africa concluded that a woman is killed by her intimate partner in South Africa every six hours (Jewkes, Dunkle, Nduna, & Shai, 2010). Roberts, Wassenaar, Canetto and Pillay (2010), investigating homicide-suicide cases in Durban, report that in 95% of the cases, the killers who later committed suicide were male. 75% of those homicide-suicide incidences were committed specifically in intimate relationships, with the male partners killing the female partner. This further demonstrates that the majority of perpetrators in intimate partner killings are men.

2.1.3 Statistics in Botswana.

As is the case with other countries, there is limited research in Botswana examining intimate femicide, including providing actual statistics to reflect the magnitude of the problem in the country (Exner & Thurston, 2009). In 1995, The Botswana Women in Law and Development in Africa (WILDAF) organization compiled a report on intimate femicide in Botswana (Alao, 2006). This report includes names and numbers of women killed by their intimate partners from 1985 to 1991 (Alao, 2006). The report further notes that 69 women were murdered from January to October 2005, compared to 56 cases reported in the same period in 2004, indicating an increase of reported cases at least for the two years in question.

‘Although he did not reveal statistics for this year, Phuthego said that in 2003, there were 54 passion killings, which claimed 46 women, in 2004 there were 56 cases with 54

women victims. He said that the numbers soared in 2005 to 85 cases, with 74 female victims. He said from January to September this year, 44 women were murdered in 46 cases reported' Chwaane (2006).

According to the Botswana Police Service statistics 225 women were murdered by intimate partners from January 2003 to November 2006 (Bosaletswe, 2013).

'In 2007 these murders reached 101 for the year, and a further 105 cases were registered in 2010 (Botswana Police services, 2012). In 2013, 85 women were killed, in 2014 74, and in 2015 59 cases were recorded (Mooka, 2015).

According to statistics released in 2018 by the Botswana Police, a total of 194 murder cases have been reported from January to mid-September (as at 11/09/2018) and out of the 194, 87 were of female victims killed specifically by their lovers, and on the contrary however only one male victim was killed by his lover (female) (Kgosikebatho, 2018).

The media, particularly print media, documents and publicise some of the stories, which gives an idea of the severity of the crime (Alao, 2006). However, the researcher acknowledges how newspaper reportings are not sufficient to capture the extent of the problem. Below, I share example extracts from various newspaper outlets in Botswana, which shared different incidents as they happened in the country over the years.

'She survived the fire that was set by her estranged boyfriend and now she thinks all men are killers. She has scars all over her body. Her hands are still bandaged, and she looks very traumatised' (Piet, 2005).

'A Botswana Democratic Party (BDP) councillor for Hatsalatladi in Kweneng East, Bathusi Sekwati shot his wife and later committed suicide during New Year's Eve. The Sekwatis are said to have had a misunderstanding' (Setsiba, 2007).

'Passion killings that have gripped Botswana in recent years have claimed 89 lives - 82 women and seven men - since the beginning of the year' (Piet & Keoreng, 2009).

‘The police recorded yet another murder of a 24-year-old nurse stationed at Bamalete Lutheran Hospital in Ramotswa. She was found dead in her bedroom, allegedly killed by her 40-year-old boyfriend’ (Bothoko, 2020).

‘In another case, last week Tuesday another woman was allegedly stabbed several times to death by her boyfriend at Shashemooke village. The man was arraigned before the Francistown Magistrate’s Court on Thursday to face a single count of murder’ (Bothoko, 2020).

‘Police are investigating a case in which a 37-year-old woman was allegedly shot dead by her lover last night’ (Bothoko, 2020)

‘Mothuti brutally killed his wife and mother of his two children, Martha Mothuti when he stabbed her several times with a knife on the right side of her chest in November 2011. The incident happened at Ikageleng ward in Selebi-Phikwe, where the couple resided. At the time, Mothuti was based in Selebi-Phikwe as a soldier’ (Dube, 2020)

‘A 60-year-old man shocked the court when he was arraigned last Tuesday charged with the murder of his 65-year-old girlfriend. The accused, Mmoloki Rakeitebetse, on the night of March 7th, 2020 at Makalamabedi lands near Takatotwane village, is alleged to have murdered his girlfriend, Kebathokile Mokgweba by hitting her with a stick on the face’ (Kgosidintsi, 2020).

Although there is limited information on intimate femicide, the statistics availed by different sources from different countries demonstrate the severity of the phenomenon across nations. In Botswana specifically, the phenomenon exists, as evident from newspaper reporting and statistics. There is an urgent need to prioritise research, reporting and documentation on intimate femicide to fully capture the reality as it occurs on the wider gendered violence spectrum. As Stout (1991) wrote;

'Intimate femicide is the missing link in social science research on violence against women**' (**p.476). It is therefore important to acknowledge the extremism and fatality that women suffer at the hands of their intimate partners as is the case in intimate femicide cases.

2.2 Intimate partner femicide as a human rights issue

In the broader discourse of violence against women, intimate femicide is perceived as a gross human rights issue. Most Southern African governments have made eliminating gender-based violence, gender equality and advancing women's rights a key policy commitment (Mookodi & Fuh, 2004; Alao, 2006; Jankey, 2009). International treaties like The 1992 Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination against women; the 1993 UN Declaration on Violence against Women; International Conference on Population and Development (ICPD, 1994); and the 2009 Southern African Development Community (SADC) Protocol on Gender and Development have been ratified by most Southern African countries to solidify the intention of countries to put more effort in their attempt to eliminating violence against women (Mathews, 2010).

In South Africa, in 1996 after the adoption of the South African Constitution, provision for women's rights was made in South Africa, including the right of women to be free from violence. In a quest to satisfy these, some measures were put up in place like the establishment of the Commission on Gender Equality; Office on the Status of Women (Mathews, 2010).

In Botswana, the women's movement which gained strength in the 1980s and 1990s (Bauer, 2011) advocated for the elimination of discriminatory laws against women, gender equality and women empowerment. In an effort to attend to this issue, the Botswana government acceded to the Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW, 1979). More international laws and policies have been adopted by the government, including the International Conference on Population and Development (ICPD,

1994); the Beijing Declaration and Beijing Platform for Action (BPFA, 1995); the United Nations Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women (1997) (Bauer, 2011; Rakgoasi, 2014). In addition, Botswana adopted the Commonwealth Integrated Approach to Combating Gender Based Violence (2000) and most recently, the signing and acceding of the revised Southern African Development Community (SADC) Protocol on Gender and Development (2017).

Some national laws have been developed in Botswana to further strengthen efforts to curb violence against women. These include the adoption of the Domestic Violence Act in 1998, which criminalises most forms of gender-based violence and the abolition of the Marital Power Act (2004), which gave married men more power in decision making within their marriages. The National Policy on Women in Development was adopted in 1996 (Rakgoasi, 2014), and recently a new National Gender and Development Policy of 2015 is adopted to guide the gender and development in Botswana (Ministry of Labour and Home Affairs, 2015).

Other efforts by the government of Botswana include the establishment of the Women's Affairs division, which became the Women's Affairs Department and most recently, the Gender Affairs Department. To demonstrate more commitment towards gender issues, including eliminating all forms of violence against women and girls, the Ministry of Labour and Home Affairs has been renamed the Ministry of Nationality, Immigration and Gender Affairs. All these efforts seek to underpin Botswana's commitment in protecting women and girls from systemic inequalities, discrimination, and violence.

However, with these policies, authorities and ratifications in place, the reality remains that women's bodies are highly subjected to experiences of violence by their intimate partners. It is also a point of criticism that the implementation of these reforms and policies do not effectively deal with the reality on the ground. Furthermore, the general discourse and

efforts of eliminating gendered violence exclude men's realities and ignore their potential participation in the prevention strategies to reduce violence, and instead place emphasis principally on women as victims. This means that we overlook men's realities, experience, and the potential role they can play in eliminating gender-based violence.

To effectively eliminate or reduce the prevalence of intimate partner violence, strategies that are all-encompassing and address both men and women are necessary (Jewkes, 2000; Mookodi & Fuh; 2004). It is therefore necessary that in the quest to deal with gendered violence, we gain clear insight and understanding on the experiences of the majority perpetrators, i.e., men, and explore some of the normative ideas they have about masculinity and the use of violence in interpersonal and intimate relations.

2.3 Patterns of violence in intimate relationships

Everyday accounts and media representations of femicide often theorise the idea that the act of killing is random, especially in cases where the perpetrator appears to have no record of a public and exposed violent past (Dobash, Dobash & Cavanagh, 2009; Mathews, 2010). The blame is often thrust on the actions of the woman and any circumstance that may have 'provoked' the otherwise respectable man. This serves as justification of the violence and consequently diminishes accountability on the perpetrators' part.

Studies reject the notion that these killings are spontaneous and random. There is always evidence of a history of violence in the intimate relationship. The violence may have taken any form, e.g., physical, sexual, or psychological, before turning fatal (Jewkes, 2002; Dobash, Dobash & Cavanagh, 2009). This suggests a strong association between a history of violence in a relationship and intimate femicide cases (Moracco, Runyan, & Butts, 2003; Frye & Wilt, 2001; Dobash et al., 2009).

Within the feminist discourse, men's use of violence in intimate relationship is typically viewed as a means to control and dominate women (Dingake, 2006; Dobash,

Dobash & Cavanagh, 2009). Possessiveness, jealousy, and the need for power and reassured dominance of women by men, are the recurring themes motivating intimate femicide. Men who have lost control or perceives a threat of losing control and power in the intimate relationships may resort to ultimately killing their partners to retain their position of power over the woman they are in a relationship with (Smith, Moracco, & Butts 1998; Wilson, Johnson & Daly 1995; Dingake, 2006).

Dobash et al. conclude that intimate femicide is therefore generally considered to be an extreme means of attempting to take maximum control of (and from) a woman. Jewkes (2002) highlights that this is mostly common in societies where there is tolerability of the use of violence in interpersonal relations. Furthermore, this occurs in societies where there is a cultural importance on gender hierarchy.

2.4 Contributing Factors of Intimate Femicide

Glass, Laugon, Rutto, Bevacqua and Campbell (2008) agree with other researchers who report that intimate femicide is the most severe outcome of gender-based violence. In order to fully understand intimate femicide, it is necessary to make a deeper analysis of the contexts and spaces in which it occurs, by identifying the risks and contributing factors. The social and economic contexts that includes factors such as age, culture, economic status, reproductive health issues, sexuality and education level must be explored (Mogwe, 1988).

2.4.1 Childhood experiences and Gender Based Violence.

Childhood experiences play a significant role in shaping both the perpetrator and the victim's experience of gender-based violence and intimate femicide (Moffett, 2006; Mathews, Jewkes & Abrahams, 2011). Growing up in violent spaces and homes impact on children's relationship with their immediate surroundings and how they place violence in their lives. Male children who grow up experiencing their mothers and/or other females being severely abused by fathers or other male figures contributes to the production of a violent

masculinity (Jewkes, 2000; Stith, Smith, Penn, Ward, & Tritt, 2004; Raditoaneng, 2006). With these experiences as a backdrop in the men's lives, they may go on to internalise violence as a way of solving conflict.

Similarly, these experiences may affect females and their tolerance to violence. They may normalize and tolerate the use of violence on their bodies in their own intimate relationships. This would therefore increase the susceptibility of staying in violent malfunctioning relationships, and increased exposure to intimate femicide. This may be attributed to the social learning theory that explains how both perpetrators and victims respond to aggressive and violent behaviours is directly and indirectly learned from their immediate environment. (Bandura, 1977; Jewkes & Abrahams, 2002).

In conclusion, children growing up in a society that applauds and reinforce the use of violence in intimate relationships, may internalise and utilise violence to communicate, express emotions, solve conflicts and exercise dominance and power in relationships (hooks, 1984; Mathews, Jewkes & Abrahams, 2011; Jewkes, 2002; Johnson, 2001).

2.4.2 Age, Relationship Status & Power Dynamics.

According to Moracco, Runyan and Butts (1998), a woman's age is an important contributing factor in the analysed cases of intimate femicide, with younger women being more likely to be killed by an intimate partner than older women. According to these researchers, the average age of victims in the cases they analysed ranged from 20 to 25 years old. The age differences between the couple also act as a contributing factor. When the male partner is much older than the female, there is an increased chance of the younger female partners' vulnerability to being killed (Jewkes, 2002). Critically examining the role of age disparity, this could reflect control and power imbalances existing within that partnership. The older male partner is more likely to be economically and socially privileged than the

younger female partner, thus, skewing power distribution (Jewkes, 2000). In cases where this power is threatened, the use of violence is likely to be employed to maintain power.

Mathews (2010) reports that the relationship state (current/ex) and status (cohabiting, girlfriend, or wife) of a couple was found to be an important contributing factor to intimate femicide as well. Dobash, et al., (2009) explains that intimate femicide is prevalent in cohabiting relationships of younger men and women who have more limited financial resources than those in stable marital relationships. The financially strain experienced by the couple may heighten their use of violence in solving conflict. Furthermore, due to the nature of the relation, they have limited access to parental counselling as opposed to married couples who are counselled by uncles and aunts during conflicts.

Women who are separated or are in the process of separating from their partners are also reported to be more likely to be killed as compared to married women or current intimate partners (Mathews, 2010; Wilson, Johnson & Daly, 1995). This, Mathews explains, may be arising from the man's perceived threat to his control, power, and masculine identity that he experiences when the intimate partner threatens to leave the relationship. In a study by Rude (1999) of 150 cases of killings and alleged killings of women and girls by intimate partners in Zambia from 1973 – 1996, anticipated loss of power and control was identified as the underlying factors in these cases.

2.4.3 Alcohol Use.

According to Jewkes (2000), alcohol usage is one of the key contributing factors in intimate femicide. Research in South Africa shows an intertwined relationship between a general pattern of high alcohol consumption and high level of violence in interpersonal relationships (Field, Caetano & Nelson, 2004; Parry, 2005).

It has emerged that violence in intimate relationships is more prevalent in relationships where men use alcohol in large amounts (Mogwe, 1988; Jewkes & Abrahams,

2002; Jewkes, Levin, & Penn-Kekana 2002). Mathews (2010) in his study mentions that some discussions held with community leaders in South Africa have pointed to the relationship between heavy alcohol consumption and fights brewing between partners as a result of both partners being intoxicated. It appears that the couples fail to then resolve conflicts in a non-violent way.

Similarly, female partners drinking patterns fuel conflicts within a relationship, and increase their vulnerability to be killed (Mathews, 2010). Studies show that women are likely to be killed over weekends, when exposed to high levels of alcohol (Parry, 2005). It is worth mentioning that perpetrators may use the victim's drinking habits as an excuse to be violent (Jewkes, Levin, & Penn-Kekana 2002), which highlights the self-serving belief pattern that perpetrators feel justified in killing their partners.

However, some studies in the United States on victims and perpetrators use of alcohol in relation to intimate femicide suggest that there are some significant gender differences in the pattern of alcohol use (Moracco, Runyan, & Butts 1998). Most female victims' blood alcohol concentration toxicology reports indicated that they had been sober during the act, and the male perpetrator's reports shows signs of intoxication during the killing.

2.4.4 Socio-Economic Status.

Jewkes (2002) reports that another contributing factor in intimate femicide is unemployment and a low socio-economic status amongst both the perpetrators and victims. Jewkes further explains that the connection may be stemming from the relationship between poverty and the psychological stresses it causes, which increases the likelihood of the fatal use of violence in intimate relationships. In instances where men fail to financially provide for their partners, a perceived loss of power and control over the woman may be felt (Jewkes, 2000; Jewkes, 2002, Mathews, 2010). This is influenced by patriarchal societal standards, which dictates that men must economically provide for their families and partners. Failure to

satisfy these expectations seems to place (un)conscious pressure on men who then resolve to using violence in an attempt to reconcile with internal and external pressures. From a statement issued by the Namibian Police, it appears that some of the notable motives behind intimate femicide include illiteracy and limited education, unequal power relations and low economic status of both men and women (Nunuhe, 2014).

2.4.5 Access to firearms.

According to Abrahams, Mathews and Jewkes (2010), South Africa is leading globally in the reported rate of instances where men use guns to intimidate and attack women. Gun ownership has been identified as one way in which men articulates their manhood and power. Abrahams et al., state that access to guns is also used as a strategic way men intimidate other men and women, hence asserting their dominance, control and power. Studies have shown that men with access to guns are more likely to use the guns during a conflict as compared to those who did not have access to guns (Mathews, 2010; Moracco, Runyan, & Butts 1998). This could be because the access to guns allows for easier and convenient performance of violence, which is central to formation of toxic masculinity. Mathews (2010) however reports that little is known about the type of other objects used to kill women. It is worth mentioning that knives are also a quick and easy object that is often used, as demonstrated in the newspaper article quote below:

> ‘Police here have arrested a 26-year-old Botswana Defence Force (BDF) soldier for allegedly stabbing his girlfriend to death. It seems like the deceased was stabbed on the neck with a sharp object looking at the nature of the injury that she sustained’ (Kolantsho, 2011).

2.5 Theoretical Frameworks

2.5.1 Feminist Theory

In understanding and making sense of intimate femicide, researchers often employ feminist theoretical perspectives. According to Taylor and Jasinki (2011), feminism is in fact the most frequently used overarching paradigm in trying to gain an understanding of intimate femicide. Feminist theory generally views intimate femicide and any form of gender-based violence as a direct consequence of patriarchy and how it dictates the use of violence as a form of dominance, power, and control of men over women (Hester, Kelly & Radford, 1996; Wood & Jewkes, 2001). Patriarchy, according to Boonzaier (2008) is basically a societal system that informs the social relations between men and women. This societal system enables men to dominate and control women through various behaviours, activities, and institutions. The central and underlying theme in a patriarchal society is power and control by men towards women (Hooks, 1984; Green, 1999; Jewkes, 2000; Sara, 2017). Abrahams, Mathews, Jewkes, Martin and Lombard (2012) state that power dynamics, particularly those underscoring misogyny or sexism, are always implicated in the use of violence towards women. They further state that several social institutions like marriage and family often perpetuate, uphold, reinforce and maintain men's physical violence towards women.

Alao (2006) states that the killing of women by their intimate partners or ex intimate partners is often an attempt by a man to assert ownership of and control over the sexuality and reproductive capacity of their partners. Furthermore, it is a demonstration of how relationships are structured in male dominated culture, where the common threads are intertwined on power, dominance, and oppression of one gender over the other (Ahmed, 2017). Taylor and Jasinki (2011) are also of the opinion that in male dominated institutions, violence is a tool that men use to control and dominate women.

2.5.2 Theory of Masculinity

The role men play as benefactors, perpetrators and possibly victims of a patriarchal system are an emerging focus in gender studies, (Connell, 1987; Connell, 1995; Morrell, 1998; Ratele, 2008; Strange, 2003). The study of men and their manhood as social beings existing and influenced by the socio-cultural, economic, and political systems is gaining momentum even in Southern Africa. This, termed ‘masculinity studies’, is adding to a research agenda that aims to critically examine and engage with men's experiences and positionality in the society (Morrell, 1998; Ratele, 2006; Shefer, Stevens & Clowes, 2010; Clowes, Ratele & Shefer, 2013; Ratele, 2015). This is an attempt to move away from a scholarship that only view men on existentialist terms as biological beings, without acknowledging the social construction of men's behaviour and how masculinity manifests as a product of the society they live in (Cohen, 1990; Morrell, 1998; Connell, 2005; Ratele, 2006; Ratele, 2008).

Connell (1987) contributed greatly to the popularisation of the study of masculinities, which as a theory is used to interrogate and gain an understanding on how violence is positioned and maintained in the lives of men. According to Connell and other scholars, masculinity is generally defined as collective gender identity consisting of behaviors that men are expected and encouraged to live by in a particular society (Connell, 1987; Morrell, 1998). Haywood and Mac an Ghaill (2003) define masculinity as ‘Ways of becoming a man in a given culture’ (p. 154).

Masculinity has been studied across cultures, and Courtenay (2000) reports that masculinity is socially constructed, fluid, and a learnt gender identity, rather than a natural, fixed attribute that men are born with. Gilmore (1990) concludes that masculinity is a status that encompasses being tough, aggressive in physicality, emotions and hyper sexuality.

One of Connell's key contributions in this field has been the introduction of the concept of hegemonic masculinity. Connell argues that there is multiplicity of masculinities in any society, which are not equal in terms of domination, power, and superiority in relation to the 'other'. Hegemonic masculinity is therefore the supreme construct of masculinity that men are expected to perform and exhibit (Connell, 1987). Donaldson (1993) explains that this form of masculinity strives to position itself as the ultimate dominant force in the society. It further presents and impose its own values as the standard of how real men should behave, either towards other men or women in general. These behaviours include hyper heterosexuality, violent and toxic behaviours that are over exaggerated to deny any signs of perceived weakness (Shefer et al., 2010, Morrel, Jewkes, Lenderger & Hamlall, 2013). These behaviours may also be exhibited to overemphasise the need to appear emotionally and physically in control, particularly in interpersonal relationships. In the need to appear strong and powerful, men are then led to harm themselves and the other.

Scholars of masculinities in Southern Africa advance an argument about the role of imperialism, colonialism, capitalism, and race in shaping masculinities in Africa (Cohen, 1990; Morrel, 1998; Ratele, 2006; Morrell, Jewkes & Lenderger, 2012). They argue about acknowledging and realistically capturing the effect of history and context, if we are to adequately analyse men in Africa. This will assist in exploring, how and why men use violence and toxicity as a form of power and control in their interpersonal relationships, amongst other interrogations. It is then beneficial to contribute to gender justice and reconciliation by acknowledging the complexities of the social construction of masculinity.

Chapter 3: Research Design and Methodology

In this chapter, I present a description of the process undertaken to collect and analyse the qualitative data. This includes an account of the research design, participants, data collection tools and analysis, limitations of the study and ethical considerations including COVID-19 protocols.

3.1 Research Design

This study utilised an exploratory qualitative approach. The researcher decided upon a qualitative approach because it significantly assist in decoding multifaceted social processes (Babbie, 2010; Silverman, 2013). This approach provides for a contextualised exploration of participants' beliefs, values, lived experiences, perceptions and understanding of a particular social phenomenon. Furthermore, De Vos, Strydom, Fouche and Delport (2011) recommend the use of the exploratory approach if there is limited knowledge in the area of interest. As mentioned in Chapter 1, there is limited literature on the study of masculinities and intimate femicide in Botswana. This further cemented the decision to employ this approach for this study.

3.2 Sampling Procedure, Method and Participants

The sample size is 10 participants, who were recruited from a social soccer ground popularly known as 'Sunday Football' in Botswana. This is a group of men, usually with some form of connection, that get together occasionally to play recreational social soccer on Sundays. The clubs are not registered and are not formal. It is just a convenient space for men to play soccer, and sometimes the players become regular players in that space. These men are usually co-workers or friends, or even random strangers, and their sole purpose for playing soccer is purely recreational. For this study, the researcher identified that on the community pitch on Sundays, from 8am in Extension 14, Gaborone, some men gather to play there. These participants were approached by the researcher during their normal Sunday play.

The researcher identified the team captain and introduced him to the desire of the researcher to hold a conversation with 10 random participants from the team, broken down into 2 focus groups of 5. These 2 groups are created for ease of controlling the direction of each discussion, as well as for ability to maintain social distancing as regulated by World Health Organisation and the Botswana Ministry of Health, in COVID-19 protocol which is explained more in depth in the ethical consideration section.

The criteria for inclusion was that the participants must be men who play soccer at the grounds, identify as men, be 18 years of age and above, and speak English and/or Setswana.

Although this study does interrogate sport/soccer as such, it is relevant to note that the soccer grounds is a site of interest because it is important to get an understanding of how men in certain contexts and settings, where they especially gather as a collective; reason, and make sense of the world (Morrell, 1998; Courtney, 2000). This, Morrell explains, may be useful in interrogating how the actual contexts and spaces feed their idea of a successful masculinity. Connell (1987) writes at length about the importance of sporting activities and institutions, in shaping certain aspects of masculinities. Sporting activities, Connell writes, often demands the ability to control spaces, objects, and other bodies as well as normalise the use of open violence. The researcher held a focus discussion with men from this setting, without any particular sensitivity to their economic standing, education level or any other factor, apart from the fact that they are Batswana men above the legal age of 18, with ability to speak English and/ or Setswana.

The non-probability sampling method of convenience sampling was utilised to select participants for this study. Convenience sampling was selected for this study because it is time and cost efficiency (De Vos et al, 2011). Although this method does not ensure a representative sampling, it is appropriate for an exploratory qualitative study. The aim of the study is not necessarily to generalise the findings, but rather to explore the kinds of ideas and

constructions that surround the topic of masculinities and intimate femicide. The results are useful for the development of more generalisable research studies in this area in future.

3.3 Data Collection

This study utilised focus groups as a method of data collection. A focus group is explained by Tonkiss (2004) as a small group of individuals that hold a discussion on a focused topic as moderated by a researcher. I utilised focus groups because Wilkinson (1999) states that focus groups are helpful when researching and exploring social phenomena. They are helpful in that they not only find out what participants think, but also interrogate how participants think through effectively decoding their idea forming process, argument construction as well as the use of jokes and anecdotes in a group setting (Morgan, 1993; Morgan, 1998).

Two focus groups were conducted separately, with the first focus group consisting of five participants from the Sunday soccer setting and the second group with five participants still from the sport setting. According to Kruger and Casey (2000), 4-6 participants in a focus group is advantageous as it affords an opportunity for all participants to speak and allows for meaningful interaction that can be used for analysis unlike in bigger groups.

Participants who agreed to be a part of the study were invited to attend a focus group discussion. The researcher approached the participants of the first and second focus group during their normal Sunday practice. I asked to see the team Captain whom I explained my research interest to. He notified the team members of the researchers' intentions. 5 members volunteered to participate in the study, and they agreed to assemble at the same Extension 14 grounds an hour before their normal practice session for the focus group discussion.

With COVID-19 as a reality affecting human behavioral research, the researcher identified ways to mitigate the situation in her methodology in order to ensure the feasibility of the study. The researcher has expanded extensively on COVID -19 in Botswana, under

section 3.6. With the Botswana Ministry of Health regulations in consideration, the researcher kept her focus group to 5 participants per group and ensured 1Metre distancing between the participants. 5 people in one setting is allowed as per the Ministry of Health regulations. Since this was a small number, a 45 Minutes conversation was attainable without risking any of the participants. It is worth noting that the researcher found the players at the pitch, and they already had their masks on as per government regulations, but to ensure compliance, the researcher still brought a supply and provided masks and sanitizer to be utilized by all participants before commencement of the data collection. The researcher also had a handheld thermometer to record the body temperatures of all participants. The researcher also had her mask on throughout the focus group discussions, and ensured she kept 1meter away from all participants.

Before the data was collected, the participants were informed of the nature and relevance of the study. They were also made aware of COVID 19 regulations and protocols, which included provision and ensuring they sanitise hands, use of masks by all, temperature checks, and social distancing between all 5 participants and researcher. They were further made aware that they have the liberty either to stay for the discussion or to leave if they felt any form of discomfort. The participants were given an informed consent form (Appendix A), which explicitly outlined that they would be voice recorded. They all proceeded to sign it after reading and asking some questions for clarity. The researcher facilitated the discussion. The participants were given the choice to use either Setswana or English or both. The discussion was mainly in English, with some participants using Setswana phrases to explain some ideas. These ideas were then translated to English.

The participants in this study conversed on topics based on questions posed and facilitated by the researcher (Lead Question schedule attached as Appendix B). These questions were only a guiding framework to drive the conversation to investigating and

exploring how these men viewed themselves as men. This was further used to gain a deeper understanding of how the participants understand, view, and make sense of intimate femicide. The two discussions took about 60 minutes each and were stopped when participants began repeating the same thoughts and ideas. The discussion was voice recorded and transcribed afterwards.

3.4 Data Analysis

The qualitative data collected was analysed using thematic analysis. Thematic analysis is generally used to identify, analyse and report repeated ideas within a data set (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Data was firstly transcribed, Setswana phrases translated into English, re-read and then initial codes noted. Secondly, interesting features across data set was collated according to each code. In the third step, the different codes that had been identified were sorted by the researcher, and the potential themes identified. These themes were then combined to form sub-themes. In the fourth step, identified themes were reviewed, then a thematic map was generated before checking if data works in relation to the data set. In the fifth step, themes were named and defined, as well as determining which aspects of the data the theme captures. Braun and Clarke (2006) explain the necessity of logical and concise reporting in the final step of report writing, which the researcher executed in this paper.

3.5 Ethical Considerations

In studies involving human beings as participants, ethical considerations are a necessity. According to De Vos, Strydom, Fouche and Delport (2011) the concept of ethics is explained as ‘the term of ethics implies conforming to a set of principles; rule of conduct, the responsibility of the researcher; and the standards of conduct of a given profession’ (p. 114). When conducting this study, the necessary ethical procedures were given utmost consideration.

Ethical approval was applied for through the Department of Psychology at Stellenbosch University Departmental Ethics screening committee (DESC). The ethical issues that were deemed relevant to the study were identified to be voluntary participation, informed consent, confidentiality, compensation and COVID 19 considerations. They are elucidated in the paragraphs below.

3.5.1 Voluntary Participation

Bell (2014) explains that participation in any study should not be forced to anyone. The researcher openly informed all the participants in this study that their participation in the study is voluntary. They were further informed that they were free to withdraw from the study at any point if they felt any discomfort, or for any other reason that they could disclose or otherwise. None of the participants withdrew from any of the focus groups.

Informed Consent

After informing potential participants that their participation is entirely voluntary, their informed consent was sought before any data collection could take place. Participants were informed about the nature and relevance of the study. The expected duration of their involvement in the study was also explained to them. As De Vos, Strydom, Fouche & Delport (2011) mentioned, as part of the ethics process, participants must give consent. The participants were given a written informed consent (Appendix A) to read and sign.

Confidentiality

Information regarding the participants in this study was treated with utmost confidentiality and privacy. Bell (2014) stipulates that the privacy, confidentiality, and dignity of research participants must be of the highest order. This can be done through protecting their identities and avoiding any information that can make them identifiable. The participants were assured of the confidential nature of the study. During and after data collection, the voice recorder used for the sessions was only accessible to the researcher. In

reporting the data, confidentiality was ensured by using pseudonyms in the transcriptions and analysis.

3.5.4 Compensation

No compensation of any kind was extended to the participants. All participants were informed of this before the data collection commenced.

3.6 COVID-19 Considerations

Corona Virus Disease, COVID-19 is an infectious disease caused by the Coronavirus, and first recorded in Wuhan, China in 2019 (World Health Organisation, 2020). This Virus, an unprecedented global epidemic, has affected the social, economic, and cultural as well as mobility and human interactions the world over (World Health Organisation, 2020). According to the World Health Organisation (2020), following strong recommendations by the Emergency Committee, the WHO Director-General declared COVID-19 as a Public Health Emergency of International Concern (World Health Organisation, 2020). According to the World Health Organisation, 117 Countries have been affected by COVID 19, and as of 27 July 2020 the statistics show that there are 16,096,741 confirmed cases of COVID-19 the world over, including 646,384 deaths, reported to WHO. Botswana, which recorded the first positive case on the 30$^{th\ of}$ March 2020, has as of October 25, 2020, 471 active positive cases and 21 deaths reported in Botswana (Botswana Government, 2020)

In order to mitigate the spread of COVID 19 in Botswana, the government effected extreme social distancing on the 2nd of April 2020 for a period of 28 Days (Botswana Government, 2020). With the extreme Social distancing, the public got advised to take measures to reduce contact in malls, shops, work, gyms, places of worship etc. The public further got advised to wear masks, sanitise hands, constantly wash hands with soap and water, and observe social distancing. The initial Extreme Social distancing was extended and

lifted on the 21st of May 2020 (Botswana Government, 2020). Gaborone city was put on lockdown on June 12th, which got lifted on June 15th (GardaWorld, 2020).

The lifting of the extreme social distancing includes the opening of public spaces like malls, workplaces, entertainment, arts and culture events, weddings, workshops etc, provided the Ministry of Health regulations are followed (Botswana Government Extraordinary Gazette, 2020). Furthermore, Churches are opened with a capacity of 75 attendees maximum, 4 times a week (Ministry of Nationality, Immigration, and Gender Affairs, 2020). The regulations from the COVID-19 taskforce includes ensuring 1metre distancing between people, taking body temperatures upon entry of any public space, sanitising of hands, and usage of masks by all (Botswana Government, 2020).

Chapter 4: Results Analysis and Discussion

The objective of the study was to gain an understanding of how i) a sample of men in Botswana view themselves as men, that is, make sense of their own manhood; and ii) investigate how this sample of men perceive intimate femicide. It is important to interrogate their constructions of their masculinity, including the meaning they attach to manhood, and how they make sense of intimate femicide as it occurs in their society. The researcher was not only interested in individual narratives, but also on the arguments brought forward in the group as participants co-created meanings of being men, and generally making sense of intimate femicide.

The thematic areas presented begin by men interrogating what it means to be a man, including the exploration of qualities and behaviours they are expected to exhibit by themselves and others. They explore the influence of upbringing, money, media and juxtaposes their masculinity expressions with other forms of masculinity, specifically a militarised masculinity. With these as a backdrop, they then explore the perceived reasons and interventions for intimate femicide; which draw from religion, colonialism, and cultural expectations of women and women empowerment.

4.1 Defining what a man is, is hard

The researcher first opened the discussion by probing the participants on what it means to be a man to them. In an attempt to answer this question, the participant expressed a difficulty in pinning down what the notion of a man is. However, they brought up the idea of a ‘real man’; as being different from being just a ‘man’, which became the epicentre of the discussion. The participants listed a series of aspirational performances and idealised behaviours that found expression in the notion of a ‘real man’. This authentic, real masculinity immediately introduces a normative account; oneself and others are judged by it;

and one must be male in a particular way, changing over time as the cultural, socio-economic, and political climate changes.

One of the reasons put forth about the difficulty of defining masculinity is the historical changes which affects expressions of masculinity over time. Participants voice the sense that the world around them is changing, and therefore how one is a man changes, as captured below:

Extract 1

Researcher: So, What is a real man?

A: Things have changed these days. It is not back then when men were men because of their cattle. Or at the size of his wallet

B: Yes

A: A fat wallet, and people saying that's the man. Things have changed. Some people view him in that way, others in a different way. Others think a man with cattle is the one, others think the one with money is the man. Others see old men as the man. Others see very young boys as their ideal men

Extract 2

M: yes, a real man disciplines his woman

Researcher: So what exactly is this real man you talk about?

L (laughs): It just depends. I mean, he says a real man disciplines. I think it is more that

M: well, I don't mean that all he has to do is discipline women, but a serious man is feared

J: I don't want my woman or children to fear me

L: (laughs), then you are not yet a man

In Extract 1, Participant A's response of '*Things have changed'* is an acknowledgement of the changing spaces in which men co-exist with themselves and others. Studies of masculinity in Africa have observed the changing historical and cultural influences

on the lives of men (Ratele, Shefer, Strebel & Fouten, 2014). Renold (2001) also explains that the individual is located as a subject within a continuously changing environment, and thus, being a man or performing being a man is not reflective of a fixed category, an idea also posited by Ratele (2017). The difficulty in getting an overarching definition of what man is, and the notion of a 'real man' as put forth by the participants, is a response to this continuous change. It is therefore important for studies of masculinities to not only look at how masculinities are defined, but to also understand the lives of men in relation to the continuously changing spaces they find themselves in.

Participant A expresses ambivalence and the loosening of culturally fixed constructions of masculinity, which could be linked to the cultural inconsistencies and contradictions within which men perform masculinity. Faced by a diversity of constructions of masculinity, especially in times of rapid social change, the participants then make sense of masculinity by breaking down and listing varied and multiple forms of being a man.

Participant A explains how the 'other' views a man with money as a potential ideal, as well as having cattle, which is an agrarian form of wealth. He further lists age, and the contestation of being young versus being old. This proposes that in one period there could exist several expressions of masculinities which changes as social, economic, and political conditions in the society change too. The participant expresses a grappling with the social identity as it gets shaped and changed by cultural changes.

It is also of interest that in Extract 1 above, the participant also speaks of people outside of him and how they view men. Ratele (2008) mentions that males often establish what it means to be a man by internalising the meaning of their relations with females and other males. In Extract 1, Participant A says, '*Some people view him in that way, others in a different way',* suggesting that masculinity is not a private expression, but a social and cultural one. The participant notes his relationship with the 'other', who has expectations on

what a real man is, and thus cementing an important characteristic of masculinity; it is social, diverse, and relational.

Ratele et al., (2014) writes of the complexity of defining what a man is, because there are varied modes of performing masculinities. Men grapple with which form of masculinity to adopt, as they learn how to be men, as well as the significance and value of each form of masculinity. The study therefore found that as various masculinity scholars posit, masculinity is elusive to define because it is not fixed, and it articulates itself through multiple forms and activities that are deemed as successful articulations of masculinity. One of the dominant prerequisites of performing masculinity that emerges from the above extracts, is having money. The theme is explored further below.

4.2 Financial Prowess: 'Money makes a man'

Participants suggest that having money is a key requisite to being defined as a real man; by men themselves, as well as by those around them.

Extract 3

B: Being a man requires money. These days money is needed

C: Money

B: Yes, money

(All Laughs)

C: Money, even if we try to ignore it, (inaudible)

Extract 4

K: I think it depends on what people value, but having money is a very good sign. No one can disrespect you. Imagine, you can buy cars, houses, cattle. Even at weddings, people respect you because you are the guy that contributes. That's being a real man

J: yah, having money is a good sign. But you also need more things, to be respected.

L: Money brings automatic respect. But it is quite hard to say exactly what a real man is. Sometimes you think you are a real man, but people don't even see you like that. (laughs)

O: I hear you guys, money is certainly important, but things have changed. Women also have money, and they are not impressed by money

K: Not Batswana women. These people love money.

(all laughs)

As it becomes clear in both extracts above, the ability to make money, or the actual possession of money through various means, seems to be regarded as essential to the successful performance of masculinity. According to Barker (2005), having access to money may indeed be the most recognised social function of men. This social function is not only important in itself, but also because of its ability and potential to enable other masculinity articulations and roles, as expressed by Participant K in Extract 4 who says, '*Imagine, you can buy cars, houses, cattle. Even at weddings, people respect you because you are the guy that contributes. That's being a real man'.*

It is worth mentioning that although participants agree on the notion that they need money to fulfil being men, they all laugh at the mention of the idea. The laughter could signify a discomfort to this reality, and an attempt to lessen the harshness of the reality through shared humour. In Africa, unemployment rates are high, and wages for most people do not afford them life above the poverty line (Ratele, 2008). In Botswana, the Core welfare indicator study of 2009 states that the unemployment rate for men at 15%. The reality for many men is a constant struggle to perform the aspect of masculinity that demands having money, in the present economic setup, which is noted by Participant C in Extract 3 as he concludes, '…*even if we try to ignore it'.* This response highlights a struggle to ignore this reality that suggests that, in their world, money is essential in the making of a man, while simultaneously needing to perform this aspect in order to be real men.

The consequence of the struggle does not only speak to their own lives, but also to their relationships with women.

Extract 5

A: They will ask you who pays the bills

(All laughs)

B: which is true. How can you take care of a woman without money?

D: so, you have to take care of her

A: yes

B: To some extent a man is money.

C: It is like that

A: A man has to take care of his woman

B: From how I view it, naturally, it is a must that as a man you contribute. As a woman, you may or may not. It is not mandatory. Even if she doesn't provide. A man wouldn't have a problem. But if you have a woman and you don't provide…

Extract 6

B: Can the woman be the provider? The man staying behind at home and taking care of the children? Can that happen? I have never seen that happen?

A: Naturally impossible

B: You see? Can women really do that? I have never seen that situation.

B: If you spend equally, who is going to feel bad?

D: The man

A: The man will feel insecure. Naturally

In extract 5 above, the participants speak of the importance of money in ensuring that the role of 'providing for women' is attended to. For example, Participant B asks, '*How can you take care of a woman without money*'? The participants exhibit a struggle as they

interrogate each other on how the lack of money disables them from taking care of women. The response by Participant A in Extract 5 '*They will ask you who pays the bills'* demonstrates a need to engage with the idea that being monied for men, is not necessarily a desire for themselves, but also a requisite from those they co-exist with; in this instance, women.

There is a suggestion, that how men create their masculinity is also informed by the use and relevance of that aspect of masculinity in the society. In this case, the role of providing is appreciated and demanded by women, and thus, an important element to internalise by men. There is also a suggestion about the relationship between one aspect of masculinity and another, in this instance, financial prowess and automatic assumption of the role of providing for women, which is stated as *paying the bill*. This cements the idea by Barker (2005) that having money as a social function allows for the easier expression of other important masculinities roles.

The explicit question by Participant A in Extract 5 of *'How can you take care of a woman without money?*' suggests that participants view having money as a necessary tool in enabling them to assume and fulfil a relational role; to be men in relation to women. Their economic standing is not something that is external to their self-understanding and performance of being in relationships with women, but an essential component of it. This is mediated by the social and cultural expectation which is shared and imposed widely by other men but also by women; that men have the role of providing and 'taking care' of women. This care is talked about with a finality, and is financial in the first instance, rather than emotional or any other mode of care.

It is also important to note that the participants view their role of providing as exclusively theirs. They rhetorically question women's ability to assume the role and imply that this role is 'naturally' theirs, in Extract 5, Participant B comments, '*From how I view it,*

naturally, it is a must that as a man you contribute. As a woman, you may or may not. It is not mandatory'. Ratele et al. (2014) mentions that there are behaviours and activities that men claim as exclusively theirs, for their masculinity to assert itself. These 'exclusive 'roles are experienced as both a source of power over women, and a burden in instances where this exclusive role cannot be performed, i.e., limited money.

The participants suggest that a woman's ability to provide financially, automatically takes away from the man's ability to perform that particular role. Furthermore, if a woman provides, then it translates to the man being emasculated and left with a role that is viewed as that of a woman, e.g., in Extract 6 above, Participant B asks, '*Can the woman be the provider? The man staying behind at home and taking care of the children? Can that happen? I have never seen that happen*', in which Participant A answers '*naturally impossible'*.

Ratele et al., (2014) explains that having financial ability is viewed as a way of assisting, in this case providing for women, without shifting the traditional gender roles. Taking care of children has been identified in gender-studies as a role that has been exclusive to women and a strong signifier of femininity. In the same breath, by contradistinction of masculinity. This then suggests a social separation and mutual exclusivity of roles men and women can assume. Furthermore, there is a suggestion that the inability to provide may disrupt basic patriarchal principles which many men use to inform their own masculinities (Morrel, 1998).

This is evident from the focus group discussion, as they exhibit some discomfort and insecurity at the idea of women being providers or having the means to take care of herself and the household.

Although participants claim it is naturally impossible for women to provide in the household, they shame the women for wanting and demanding to be provided for. The participants posit that women are using them as a source of income.

Extract 7

A: then these women are using love as business nowadays

B: yeah! some girl told me that. She said a woman's hustle is to get a guy who is well established.

B: It doesn't matter whether the man is ugly. Women will just force themselves. They have this thing that you can make yourself love someone. Then they will sacrifice themselves so that their kids can have a good life. Whether the man is ugly or not it doesn't matter, at least her kids will have a good life. Thats all, they will sacrifice themselves for money

A: Love not being there

C: Nowadays there is no true love

D: Yeah, love is a business. Everyone wants to benefit as much as they can

A: I mean, women are just expensive. From their hair…

B: make up

A: Shoes…

C: They want men who will buy those things

Extract 8

J: You cannot take sound decisions without money as a man, right?

O: Eish. Women are really expensive. And these hair styles are expensive. You know some of these weaves are around P1500?

N: Imagine you spend that on her head and she run off with another man

O: I would go and collect that weave from her head

(All laughs)

M: And they date men for the money. Men who can buy them groceries.

L: That is why you must guard her. If you spend on a woman, she has no right no abandon you. She must pay you back if she wants to go.

From the conversation in Extract 7 above, we can conclude that the men want to assume the role of providing financially only on their own terms and conditions. If a woman demands that they assume this role that they (men) claim is naturally theirs, the men view it as being used. If we are to follow the natural providers' ideology, then we are to allow for women to then assume their purported natural role of being provided for. For example, in Participant M in Extract 8 laments that '*They date men for money'*, In Extract 7, Participant A says, '*these women are using love as business nowadays'.* It is therefore contradictory for the men to shame and label the demand as '*using love for business'* as in the quote above, which is in contradiction to the idea previously put forth by the very same Participant A in Extract 5 who says, '*A man has to take care of his woman'*. This could suggest an inability to fully rise to this role given the current economic configuration and high unemployment levels. They therefore employ shaming tactics on women who demand that the role be fulfilled.

The quotes in extract 7 and 8 above of viewing women as 'expensive' also suggests how having money, or a lack thereof, allows for men to view women as objects that are 'expensive' to maintain, and purely to be controlled. For example, in Extract 8, Participant 8 comments, '*That is why you must guard her. If you spend on a woman, she has no right no abandon you. She must pay you back if she wants to go*'. This objectification makes it possible for ownership, control and exertion of power over this 'object', i.e. women's bodies. The idea that '*she must pay back if she wants to go'*, could imply paying through the use of violence even.

The position that women use love as business also begs for love as a concept to be interrogated, through the eyes of the men.

Extract 9

Researcher*: If they use love as business, what does love mean?*

A: To a real Motswana man, it is for him to feel superior. When you are superior you feel that you are in love

Researcher: Superior how?

A: Everything. Money, anything which involves both of you. From your finances, just everything. Because at the end the same lady is the one who will say i need to get this and that. So, you feel somehow she must pay for those things. Not like pay. But return something (laughs) because at least you popped out money, did her hair and all that. And then look, both would be feeling that is love because you as the guy made her happy so you expect her to make you happy too in whatever way you want.

D: They want a guy with money. I think money is the in thing when it comes to love.

The participants speak of love in relation to having money. Love, in this instance is not viewed as a standalone emotion, but rather, a consequence of being able to perform certain aspects of masculinity, i.e., financial provision. Furthermore, the idea that providing for women gives a natural authority over their lives is reiterated when the Participant A in Extract 9 states, '*So, you feel somehow she must pay for those things'.* Ratele (2008) explains that wealth or having money may be used to further perpetuate the dominance and control of men over women.

It is interesting that Participant A mentions getting '*paid back'* by a woman for providing, which he had previously posited that it is his natural role. The same participant also speaks of women using love as a business (in Extract 7), yet he is the one who feels a necessity to be paid for all his provision that he claimed is his role in Extract 5. The contradictory undertone suggests the relationship between assuming what the participant internalized as his 'natural' role, with the benefits of the perceived 'natural' role. The

participants themselves see and comment upon these contradictions. They claim the prime role as providers; but then problematise it. They seem to be negotiating a complex field, between needing money to be men; defending that 'right'; acknowledging it as something they can fail at; and acknowledging that it could put the idea of love itself in question.

However, it is worth acknowledging that the assertion that '*love is a business'* stems directly from the social and cultural ideology of 'man as provider', which can indeed lead to a situation where men are being 'used' for money. The notion of masculinity here itself supports a kind of financialisation of relationships which objectifies the men being a provider, and the women being provided for. This plays out in the society through the existence of 'blesser-blessee' relationships, which are rooted purely in a man's ability to provide for the usually younger woman, who may opportunistically enter such relationships. The idea is that these kind of '*love is a business*' relationship exist but are made possible by the discourse of '*a man is a provider*'.

Although money is spoken of as a tool that enables performance of other aspects of masculinities and to generally control women, being monied is also talked about as a form of dominance over other men. The participants also talk about how they compete as men, mainly for access to intimate relationships with women, and essentially power and control.

Extract 10

A: A man has to take care of his woman

C: that's how Batswana are. Even if the woman is independent. A man has to have the upper hand because if you don't take care of a woman, she will find someone to take care of her. Then she will go to that brother

D: And you will be heartbroken because you have no money. Money is very important

B: Yes, women are like that. They love money

Extract 11

K: Women are cold hearted. Ahhh, even if you leave her at the village she will still find someone there to give her money. If you bring her to Gaborone. They still take her.

J: Ahhh, you guys don't give them enough money. If you give serious money no girl can go.

M: ahhh, Gaborone parasites.

(All laughs)

K: Women go to wherever there is money.

J: Exactly, that is why as a man, you must make enough money so that your girl does not go anywhere.

K: But money is hard to come by these days. So these tenderboys will constantly take our girlfriends to Sky Lounge

(All laughs)

In the above extracts, there is clear demonstration of insecurity and anxiety especially towards men who have money. For example, in Extract 8, Participant C comments '*if you don't take care of a woman, she will find someone to take care of her. Then she will go to that brother'.* Morrell (1998) mentions that hegemonic masculinity is generally anxiety provoking to other forms of masculinity. The anxiety stems from the reduced power over women by men who have less financial ability than the hegemonic masculinity dictates (Ratele, 2008), and as captured by Participant J in Extract 11 who comments '*that is why as a man, you must make enough money so that your girl does not go anywhere'.*

From Extract 11 above, 'tenderboys' is a general phrase used in Botswana to refer to businessmen, who thrive and get money mostly from getting tenders for their businesses. The general belief, and reality indeed, is that these men have better access to women and are more desirable than the men with less/limited financial power. Participants K laments that women go for men with money, which another Participants J shrugs off, mocking that women must

be given *'serious money'* by their men to avoid losing them. Throughout the discussion, participants overstate the role of providing that men must assume. However, there is clear anxiety and insecurity in failing to perform this role, particularly in relation to other men who can articulate this role more efficiently as expressed in extract 10 and 11 above.

Of interest, is how the blame is thrust on women for 'provoking' men, by running off with monied men, essentially providing enough reason and justification to be abused/ killed.

Extract 12

A: The rich guys also contribute to passion killings. People who have money. I mean, your girlfriends ask you to call her back. You take 3days or 2days to respond. Then someone is busy on the side with text messages, calling her. You take 3hours to respond to that message. Somebody else bothers her every minute because he has airtime.

C: the moment you see them together, you get angry and kill her

A: You hustle hard to impress her, and someone else is chilled. He bothers her, they bother you. You give her everything that you have

C: You just wonder, why is this girl doing this to me when I suffer so much for her? And she is cheating on me. That's when you snap and kill her.

The danger of this idea, which is an attempt to shift the blame of killings onto women, is that ultimately it diminishes the sense of accountability from perpetrators (Kim & Motsei, 2010). It essentially says, 'as a man, you are justified to killing a woman if she provokes you enough'. This thought is dangerous, in a society that is battling with violence against women.

There is also a suggestion that men getting money is essentially not important, but how it enables becoming socially dominant, particularly to other men, through accessing women. That is to say; accessing and conquering women, is another successful articulation of

masculinity. Therefore, access to women through money, is one way in which men inform themselves about how successful they are performing masculinity.

Further in the discussion, there is a distinct type of masculinity that is brought into the narrative, as positioning itself dominantly in accessing and controlling women through violence and the use of money. The theme of militarised masculinity is discussed in the following paragraphs.

4.3 Soldiers take our women, and kill them

Participants posit that men who are soldiers are to blame for the increase in intimate femicide incidents. This idea from participants could be fuelled by the reported incidents by the media, of the involvement of male soldiers in killing their intimate partners. Participants further draw from their own experiences in terms of their relationship with their military friends and/or acquaintances, and the relationship dynamics due to militarisation. Morrell (1998) writes of a necessity of interrogating some of the influence and indoctrination of men's behaviours by the military as an institution. The military institution often encourages and rewards fearlessness, secrecy, violence, and aggression.

Below, in Extract 13 and 14, participants dialogue about the violent nature of militarised masculinities. They talk of a popular intimate femicide incident that was publicised in newspapers and the national television station.

Extract 13

J: I once read about ummm, this guy who killed his girlfriend, cut her head.

M: Are you serious?

J: Yes. Yes. He then cooked the head. That girl's mother found her daughter's head in a cooking pot.

M: No

J: ahhh, didn't you hear about the story.

K: I think I heard about it, that guy was a soldier, right?

M: Eish, our sisters love soldiers, but those guys. Hey, those guys will kill you. I had a friend when I was still in varsity. That friend dated a soldier. And I told her, I told her, look, you can't date a soldier. That guy punched her every day. Like it was nobody's business. She got punched.

Extract 14

D: Soldiers also play a role in these passion killings. In most cases, a soldier is always involved.

C: Soldiers shoot. They are exposed to guns. Haven't you seen that when a person has a knife, they use that weapon? Where I grew up most people used their weapon, knives. So, even soldiers use whatever they have, which is a gun. He does the deed very fast.

In extract 13 above, the gruesome details of how a soldier killed his girlfriend are shared. Participant C in Extract 14 opines that '*even soldiers use whatever they have, which is a gun*'. This suggests that extreme violence is exacerbated by the soldier's proximity to some form of weapon e.g., knives and guns in particular. According to Abrahams, Mathews and Jewkes (2010), gun ownership has been identified as one way in which men articulate their manhood, dominance and power towards other men and women. Men with access and/or ownership of guns have a higher likelihood of murdering their intimate partners using those guns (Mathews, 2010; Moracco, Runyan, & Butts 1998). This is because access to guns allows for easier and convenient performance of violence, as the participants posited in Extract 14.

What happens here though is, participants seem to place the burden of the crimes unto another type of masculinity. This somehow absolves those who are outside of militarised masculinities. Once again, participants seem to distance themselves, and position their masculinity elsewhere, i.e., as not using violence.

The participants also seem to be against the idea of women dating soldiers because of their (soldiers) seemingly well-known violence. This is captured in the sentiments on Extract 13, by Participant M claiming to have advised his friend from dating a soldier *'And I told her, I told her, look, you can't date a soldier'.* The masculinity that is in proximity with the use of violence, and hence a threat to other forms of masculinity, is judged. The non-militarised masculinity seemingly judges and advocates for limited relations with the militarized masculinity. According to Barker (2005), various expressions of masculinities are often judged by other men and women.

Participant M in extract 13 further mentions how violence often exists in intimate relationships, before the actual killing of the victim; '*That guy punched her every day'.* This is supported by Dobash, Dobash and Cavanagh (2009) who explained that the act of killing intimate partners is often a build-up of violent episodes that constitutes that existing intimate relationship. This is facilitated by the inability of women to get help from abusive relationships because of the shame, stigma and general social silence that plagues violent intimate relationships (Modie-Moroka, 2010; Maundeni, 2002).

The participants further below give an explanation of why they think soldiers are more violent.

Extract 15

B: With soldiers, I think it is because with them, their job includes taking orders, including the training. Even guys we went to school with, after the soldiers' training, when you meet them after 3years, they are not the same guys.

A: Even my friends that I went to school with, we no longer laugh together. We do laugh, but there are limits. We joked around but now we don't.

B: Because?

A: Guys I grew up with from Standard 1, who are soldiers, are hard hearted. I don't know what they are taught. They love secrecy. They keep things for themselves. We used to tell each other everything, but not these days.

The militarised masculinity is perceived as being characterised by secrecy, violence and being *'hard hearted'.* The relationship between soldiers and participants, described as previously enjoying the same things, is now described by Participant B in Extract 15 as '*guys we went to school with, after the soldiers' training, when you meet them after 3years, they are not the same guys.'* This suggests a shift in how the different men related with each other.

Bonzaaier and Shefer (2007) mention the importance of examining hierarchical relations between groups of men. Participants here speak of men in military as an outside group that has internalised the use of violence, and articulates their masculinity differently, in relation to women and other men. This articulation of masculinity involves demanding some form of respect and setting boundaries in how the militarised men relate with the non-military men, as captured in the extract by Participant A's sentiment '*Even my friends that I went to school with, we no longer laugh together. We do laugh, but there are limits.*

The hierarchal relationship between the militarised masculinity and non-militarised masculinity does not only differ in terms of exposure to and use of violence. It also differs in terms of financial power. Participants view soldiers as having a financial ability, which they (participants) report to not having. This financial ability attracts women to the soldiers, the participants posit in the extract below;

Extract 16

K: What should you do, what should you do? Because other men will show her they are the man, and you know them, they leave. They give them money. Ahh, soldiers give money. In Kanye, soldiers build houses for girls. Imagine. There is no girl who will say no

to that. You will be there my man, not giving her any money, anything, and this soldier and tender boys will come and give her lots of money, you think this girl will stay? She will not stay. Yah, so she needs to fear you so that she thinks twice before leaving.

Once again, the idea that a man with money is more desirable to women is reiterated. Participant K mentions that '*There is no girl who will say no to that*'. Implying that ultimately, a masculine characteristic that is desired and fetishised by women is that of having money, and essentially providing for the women. We then can conclude that women are gatekeepers of aspects of masculinity that are potentially harmful.

We can further conclude that the desire of men who have money also extends to other men and how they relate with each other, because of the power and dominance money essentially affords them. Barker (2005) explains that having money is potentially the most recognised social function of men, as it enables them to perform masculinity more efficiently. In follows logic then, that the participants would view these soldiers as a threat and disruption to other men's relationships, or potential relationships with women, as captured here by Participant K: *'You will be there my man, not giving her any money, anything, and this soldier and tender boys will come and give her lots of money, you think this girl will stay?*'.

4.4 Upbringing is important: Where do you learn to be a proper man.

In masculinity studies, it is important to note that babies are turned into boys and then into men through the process of socialisation (Moffett, 2006; Ratele, 2008). Socialisation, according to the social learning theory, happens directly or indirectly through day-to-day interaction with one's environment (Bandura, 1977). Ratele explains that families are often the starting point of this socialisation, through available knowledge about ideal gendered behaviours and activities. Boys specifically learn ideal behaviours from their fathers/uncles or any other male figure in the family, and vice-versa for girls and women. However, there has been a shift in Botswana family setups (Mokomane, 2013). Familial structures in Botswana

have changed from mainly extended family setups, to nuclear family and single-parent families led by women (Dintwa, 2010). These changes brought with them a challenge and shift in gender roles, particularly for families with absent fathers.

Participants in the below extract highlights the repercussion of changing family setups, particularly absent fathers in the home.

Extract 17

B: First of all, our society today, men are no longer present in their homes. Children are raised without a father figure in the house. So, this means that they get affected because they don't really know how to love a woman, you see, they have never seen it. They see it externally. They see fights only, these kinds of thing

D: Families are led by women. Most men nowadays run away from their responsibility. Where do you learn how to be a proper man?

Research: Ok

B: Men don't know how to handle pressure in a relationship because there is no one to guide them. So, that's the problem, I think that's the problem that causes conflicts.

Extract 18

J: People are not raised properly. That is why they do whatever they please. They are not taught culture and discipline. You know many families have no heads of family? It is women doing the role, because men nowadays don't take care of their children in Botswana

L: And that is dangerous, because imagine you are a boy, but there is no father to teach you a few things about being a real man. You end up learning from facebook.

(All laughs)

J: That is very common nowadays. If you don't learn at your home how to be a good man, you cannot be a good man in public.

Participant L in Extract 18 acknowledges the role men, particularly fathers, play in guiding and shaping boy's behaviours when he asks, '*imagine you are a boy, but there is no father to teach you a few things about being a real man'.* Here, the participant brings the idea of a 'real man' again, which is outside of just being a man. The problem is now linked to the absence of a real man, again diminishing accountability and conscious role. Pollack (1998) states that men are the main agents of socialisation for other men. In some communities, boys and men are automatically placed under the guidance and authority of their fathers, until the father figure dies (Bennett, 1998). The father is often tasked with facilitating the informal learning process by passing knowledge and information to the younger boys and men. This information is then used to infer principles and ideals that are necessary in shaping manhood. The process of passing knowledge also includes modelling (by fathers/father figures) and mirroring (by boys and younger men) of behaviours and activities that qualifies one to be a man (Bennett, 1998 & Barker, 2005). These behaviours, principles and ideals do not exist in a vacuum, but rather, are articulated in relation to men (themselves) and to other men and women. This provides a backdrop which younger men then utilise to make and shape their experiences, from childhood to adulthood.

The participants in Extract 17 get into an exchange in which Participant D poses a question in response to the position that men are not present in their homes, '*Where do you learn how to be a proper man*?' This suggests that the participants acknowledge the existing gap in the information and knowledge given about being men, as well as a tension and uncertainty about where to learn the appropriate ways of becoming men. The expectation though, is that men get some pressure, and are viewed with suspicion, if they fail to perform manhood (Gilmore, 1990).

The statement made by the participant D on Extract 17, who posits that in the absence of men, '*Families are led by women*', is also reiterated by Participant J on Extract 18 who

says '*You know many families have no heads of family? It is women doing the role*'. This essentially means that there is a shift in the traditional gender roles. This shift is perceived to be disrupting the traditionally expected socialisation pattern where boys directly learn from men. Participants seem to hold a conservative argument against the changing gender roles in the society. This argument is somewhat used to shift blame again unto women. By implying that men are violent because women are now in control or are perceived to be.

However, women and mothers have always indirectly influenced the behaviours and activities assumed by boys and men (Bennett, 1998). Women discourage or critique attitudes that they perceive as unmanly, while applauding behaviours that they view as manly. We can therefore conclude that women have as much a role as men, and a significant contribution in the construction of masculinities in a society. It is important to then analyse the role of women in a patriarchal setup, in relation to producing harmful masculinities that eventually affect them negatively. This raises an important note, that women could actually be the gatekeepers of patriarchal principles.

Participants further speak of how an upbringing influences how one becomes a man, and how they position violence in their lives.

Extract 19

*Researcher: so these men who end up killing women, what do you think about them**?***

C: I think they need help

Researcher: Ok

C: we need help.

D: I think it's determined by the man's upbringing. The environment affects. The parents who raised him up. Like what we always see every day. Maybe his parents, the man was always beating up the wife, so they child grew up seeing that thing. He grows up knowing that a woman should be beaten up.

A: yah

C: Sometimes it happens in the family. For example, I may have seen my cousin beat up a girl and he tells me that's how it is supposed to be done.

D: Yes

The participants raise the idea that children mimic the behaviours that they see from parents/parental/guardian figures. For example, in Extract 19, Participant C comments '*For example, I may have seen my cousin beat up a girl and he tells me that's how it is supposed to be done* '. Abrahams, Jewkes, Laubscher and Hoffman (2006), explains that boys who observe the use of violence in their families or communities, are likely to position violence as a central component of their masculinity. Furthermore, they are likely to develop a higher level of tolerance towards the use of violence, either by themselves or by others.

In making sense of why men are absent in families, the participants note a burden on performing manhood/fatherhood, and an inclination to avoid responsibility instead.

Extract 20

A: But why do we run away from our children guys?

D: Pressure guys. There is no money, so sometimes it is better to just deny that you are the father.

A: Laughs. Your own blood? I would never

B: If you take that child and the mother, where do you get the money to feed them? And the way women are promiscuous nowadays, you find it is not even your child.

A: Eish. And the only person who can know if a child is hers, is the woman. The man, it's just faith.

Participants raise the idea that money gives them the ability to perform their manhood. They seem to attach the responsibility of raising/taking care of their children with having money. Therefore, having a weaker financial ability makes them choose to

rather abandon the responsibility of taking care of their children. Participant D in Extract 20 comments '*There is no money, so sometimes it is better to just deny that you are the father'.* It is interesting to note how the participants do not see the mere presence of being in their children's lives as enough.

According to Bennett (1998), in situations where men fail to perform manhood (in this case lack of financial support), they are often viewed by women and other men with suspicion and relationships may be become strenuous. By abandoning another function of their manhood (being fathers) because of a lack of money, this demonstrates how having money may indeed be the most recognised social function of men, as Barker (2005) posited. Furthermore, it is a gateway to making life less harsh (for men) and their choices, as well as organising and shaping institutions like families (Ratele, 2008). In conclusion, men feel disabled from performing successful masculinities in social institutions like the family due to a lack of money.

However, the participants do acknowledge the problematic-ness of the use and normalisation of violence, the financial burden placed on men, and the consequence of absent fathers. They suggest that help is needed, as captured in Extract 21 below;

Extract 21

C: When a woman tries to reason with me I can beat her up, and end up having killed her. It is the way it is. I believe that help is needed, relationships need to have counselling that is open. That is done by the peers of that couple. Because older people wouldn't understand what I am going through, rather than when I am told by someone my age who understands. Older people could be beaten up, without reporting that they are abused. They held on to their marriages and relationships. I think it is better that way, the counselling.

A: Yes, counselling when people start fighting.

B: But counselling is such a white thing man

C: No, not counselling in offices, even if it is just guidance. Look at it as advice.

Participants suggests that counselling must be offered to couples, or anyone who exhibits the use of violence in intra-personal relationships. Alao (2006) states that it is important to receive professional help if crises emerge in a relationship. This, he writes, may help prevent intimate femicide. The idea of counselling seems to bring forth a discomfort as it is viewed by participants as foreign and associated with 'white thing'. However, Participant C explains how counselling could be a simplistic way of giving advice to someone, without the protocol associated with counselling '*No, not counselling in offices, even if it is just guidance. Look at it as advice'.* This raises an important question about Batswana men and how they view expressing emotions and counselling, generally. Men are often socialised to detach from their emotions, and not to speak up about issues, but rather display fearlessness and aggression (Green, 1999 & Maundeni, 2002). Of importance again, is a need to also interrogate counselling measures in their current configuration, and how it serves the population.

4.5 We learn from TV

The participants stated that media, particular the television (TV), is responsible for shaping some of the articulations of masculinity. Below is an exchange between the participants, in which they draw an example of Chris Brown, a popular United States male musician who allegedly assaulted his girlfriend. In their exchange, the participants mention that men copy behaviours from TV and integrate them in their own expressions of masculinity.

Extract 22

B: Children are raised without a father figure in the house. So, this means they get affected because they don't really know how to love a woman, you see, they have never seen it. They see it externally through tv. They see fights only, these kinds of things.

A: Chris Brown

B: Yes, there see fights on tv between lovers

A: (laughs)

B: Yes, they see it on TV. Yes, Chris Brown beat and dumped this girl. It is praise. Amongst men these days, you see.

C: You get praised for things like that

Media is brought to the fore as a powerful socialising tool that men use to gauge how successfully they perform masculinities, inwardly and in relation to other masculinities. This gives an idea about the messages that are portrayed by the media. It also gives an idea about the social desirability of those messages and how it plays out in the society in terms of shaping gender roles. Of note though, is the example Participants B used about Chris Brown, the American singer, and the media account of his use of violence in an intimate relationship. He comments, '*Chris Brown beat and dumped this girl. It is praise. Amongst men these days, you see'.* Morrell (1998), writes about how modern forms of media and communications brought different cultures into contact, and in the process influence articulations of masculinities.

In this exchange, participants speak of men being *praised* when emulating the violent behaviours of western media subjects and influences. The praise potentially comes from other men, and women and how they relate with each other. The legitimacy of masculinity is sourced from the relationship of that particular masculinity with other masculinities, further suggesting how media also perpetuates notions of hegemonic masculinities (Morrell, 1998; Ratele, 2008).

Of interest is the expanding forms of media, which continuously dictate the standards, legitimacy, and articulations of masculinities. Participants highlight how social media, particularly Facebook, is a platform that has an impact on their expressions of masculinity. The platform is also used to dictate the relationship between men, and women. It is necessary to acknowledge and interrogate the emerging social platforms that are used as socialisation tools. Below is an exchange from the participants about social media, and the anxieties it brings on their expressions of masculinities, and how they relate with others.

Extract 23

C: I believe that manslaughter, I mean passion killings can only be stopped if people are told the importance of love. Plus, as people we are influenced by many things. On Facebook, I often see, even from men who are just there, you see them taking put up these relationship quotes.

D: (Laughs)

C: Taking them and posting them. These are the things that influence this. When i see my girlfriend not fulfilling the characteristics of how real women must be, i end up not interested on her, although i did love her.

A: Alright

C: He can…

D: Quotes?

C: Quotes that say, don't you ever see these facebook things?

A: Real men

C: Yes, saying real women must have certain qualities.

A: ohhh

C: Then they list them

D: They sort of measure men (inaudible)

C: Thank you my man.

B: Yah. People post saying that a real man must have this and that. And they share it on facebook

C: Imagine if you are not that kind of man they talk about. It is painful. So people are under pressure

A: Ohhh

In the above extract, participants speak of the role that social media plays in how people interact with each other. Participant C opines, '*When i see my girlfriend not fulfilling the characteristics of how real women must be, i end up not interested on her, although i did love her'.* This suggests how the social media space informs the desirable standards of articulations of masculinity in relation to others, in this case, women. The social media space is also used to inform men, on whether they are successfully performing masculinity or not. However, there is an expressed anxiety about failing to meet these *'standards',* as Participant C remarks, *'Imagine if you are not that kind of man they talk about on facebook. It is painful. So people are under pressure'.*

Through this interaction, there is group shared norms and ideas that influence acceptable behavioural sets. Ratele (2013) mentioned that traditionally, gender beliefs and values were passed from generation to generation, mostly through oral means. However, there is now evidence of these beliefs and values being shared through technology and social media platforms. It is therefore important to interrogate the technological space and its role in shaping gender norms. It is also important to interrogate bodies occupying this technological space, and whether this could be a leverage point in shifting attitudes and behaviours of how men should articulate masculinity, and how women should behave in relation to men.

4.6 God is about to come

There is a general agreement between participants from the first focus group about the perceived reason for the occurrence of intimate femicide in the Botswana community. Participants attributed the occurrence of these incidents to a sign and affirmation of the coming of Christ/God. This was expected as the participants were members of a church. The expectation is that these participants use a religious gaze to make sense of social occurrences around them (Morrell, 2008). The participants' exchange is captured in Extract 24 below;

Extract 24

C: In the bible, it is said that these things will happen, so it's a testimony that indeed God is about to come.

A: Yes, in the Bible it is written that things like this will happen as a warning or a sign that Jesus is coming. He is about to come.

B: I think that to some extent, no, not to some extent, I agree with him, you see. But when you go a little bit back, you see, trying to make sense of the situation, what really influences that we see happening, we know that yes, it's a sign that the Messiah will come, it is written, and that Jesus said 'when you see these things do not be afraid, knowing, know that the son of man is about to come'

As they try to make sense of intimate femicide, participants employ their religion to help navigate this space. They mention that these happenings are written about in the Bible and are a sign of the second coming. Participant A opines '*Yes, in the Bible it is written that things like this will happen as a warning or a sign that Jesus is coming*'. This idea of 'the Second Coming' is rooted in Christianity as a religion which uses the Bible as the main textbook. The second coming of Christ is one of the pinnacles of their Christian belief, and it is generally understood to be an event bringing about devastating happenings and anxieties of life. The

Bible suggests that many 'bad' things will happen just before the second coming of the Christ. This is also captured in the above extract by Participant A who comments '*Jesus said 'when you see these things do not be afraid, knowing, know that the son of man is about to come'.* A verse extract drawn from the Bible that speaks directly to the second coming reads; 'At that time the sign of the Son of Man will appear in the sky and all the nations of the earth will mourn. They will see the Son of Man coming on the clouds of the sky, with power and great glory' (Matthew 24:30).

The extracted Bible verse above seems to be the point of reference for this participant as it declares that 'all the nations of the earth will mourn'. The use of the word mourns in this verse suggest significant woe, lamentation and sorrow. Intimate femicide in itself is a brutal act which involves inhumane viciousness towards the victim by the perpetrator. The participants are not only referring to intimate femicide as it happens, but they are also referring to the extreme nature in which some of these incidents occur. I extracted local newspaper articles to show examples of this kind of violence below:

> *'Nametso Moreki was killed by 29-year-old Phatsimo Mokgethi who chopped her head and took it to her uncle, Motswarateu Moreki as proof of what he had done'* (Baputakani, 2005).

The following newspaper extract also further highlights the brutality executed by the perpetrator towards the victim;

> *'A 24-year-old man has been been arrested after he allegedly killed his 22-year-old girlfriend and their one-year seven months old son using a digging metal rod'* (Mmegi, 2011).

To the participants, such incidents are indications of the woes to be expected before Christ come. It is the brutality documented in such examples of cases which permits for the participant to only liken this to the mourning to be expected as emphasised by the Bible.

Religion is a lived reality that people use to form ideas of what is right or wrong and make sense of social happenings. It is therefore unsurprising to get participants immediately use it as a point of reference. Botswana, as already mentioned in the literature review, has a Christian dominated population (Lekorwe, Molomo, Molefe, Sebudubudu, Mokgatlhe & Moseki 2005). Ratele (2008) mentions that institutions like religious establishments are a body of realities and facts that men use to feed their notions of what must happen in the society. We can conclude that this group of participants somewhat shape their world view through a lens that is underpinned on the Christian teachings.

However, in shaping their worldview through religion, participants also seem again to be distancing themselves from the realities of violence as it occurs in the society. They somewhat diminish the role and impact of a violent masculinity, by blaming the occurrences on ‘special times’ because ‘God is about to come’.

Of interest is the close ties between Christianity and Colonisation, in that the religion was introduced to Botswana by the British colonisers as they settled into Botswana. However, participants speak of the two with some level of separation, as explored in the following theme of colonisation. In as much as participants use the religious gaze, the same participants blame colonisation for distorting their culture, and essentially increasing incidents of intimate femicide. This is somewhat ironic because colonisation brought the same religion they utilise(d) to analyse social happenings. It is of interest that participants do not unpack colonial influence on their spirituality and masculinity aspect, but rather only recognise its influences on any other aspect like culture as explored below;

4.7 Colonialism ruined our culture

In making sense of why men kill their intimate partners, participants spoke of a culture that has transitioned from pure Tswana values, to one that got influenced by the Western and Eurocentric ideals and values.

Extract 25

B: '*But I think if you look at what's happening, you see, as Africans we have been ummm modernised by the superpowers, you see? From way back during those times. So, today, if you go anywhere, you do not see the culture of the original Tswana child. You see something that is adopted because of media and influence of the Whites. You see the deterioration. Even a child that is born today does not know how to behave as a Tswana child. You see? He was never taught that thing. Even his/her parents speak English, things they have adopted are white people's things, including how to raise children*'.

D: People try to be white

Extract 26

M: But women of today will leave you if you don't make them happy. I think the problem is that people have generally lost that thing that made them real Batswana.

L: yah, you are right. We act white a lot. Lack of respect, and everybody doing as they please

O: Everybody wants to speak like white people, eat and dress like them. That cannot happen, because we end up clashing. With whites, you don't even know who the man is, but with us, there is a man, and there is a woman, and we must respect that.

J: I agree with you gentlemen, there is lawlessness these days, and that is why men and women fight so much

Extract 27

B: '*You can't live like a white person while you are a Motswana. There is a certain way we must live. That thing is dead because they have imposed their culture onto us. You see?'*

C: 'you see passion killings, I agree with these men that it is caused by many things, like media and other things as well as the white culture that we are living in'

D: "*The culture is dead. But I believe that in every single group or race, or ethnic group, there is a certain way that group has to act. You can't live like a white person while you are a Motswana. There is a certain way we must live. That thing is dead because they have imposed their culture onto us. You see? They have impacted their culture to our lives, that is why what is happening is happening*"

B: Even a child that is born today does not know how to behave as a Tswana child. You see? He was never taught that thing. Even his/her parents speak English, things they have adopted are white people's, including how to raise children

The participants seem to hold the belief that the imperial influences which are still evident through behaviours, principles, and values are the root cause of how men behave, and how intimate femicide comes to being. For example, Participant B in Extract 25 comments, '*You see something that is adopted because of media and influence of the Whites. You see the deterioration*'. Participants speak of the deviation from what he imagines to have been the ideal way of behaving. They make note of a rejection and deterioration of the Tswana culture and principles by current members of the society, as a direct consequence of West influences and colonialism. Participant D comments, '*You can't live like a white person while you are a Motswana. There is a certain way we must live'.* This participant speaks of an adoption and mimicking of behaviours that are perceived to be 'White'. These participants' views on the intimate femicide phenomenon suggest that they perceive it as an act that does not reflect their own culture. They view their culture as diluted, and thus, separate it from its ability to be brutal, as is the case with intimate femicide as captured by Participant C in Extract 27 who says, '*you see passion killings, I agree with these men that it is caused by many things, like media and other things as well as the white culture that we are living in'.*

In this dialogue, the shifting pattern come to the fore once again. The participants blame an outside factor, in this case, 'whites', in influencing toxicity in masculinity as it is

constructed. This ultimately diminishes the role they directly play in creating and sustaining violent and toxic masculinities.

It is important to acknowledge the role of modernisation, colonisation, and apartheid in influencing the behaviours society uphold, and consequently the actual behaviours of people (Ratele, 2013). Morrel (1998) writes of the role played by colonialism in transforming the configuration of old masculinities and influencing the creation of new masculinities. Botswana was declared a British Protectorate in 1885 (Parker & Pfukani, 1991). Although the British changed little and allowed Chiefs to rule their people with minimal interference, the imperial relations cannot be ignored in how they shaped the culture of Batswana.

Morrel (1998) writes extensively about how colonisers shaped the way of life of Africans through institutions and systems like the family, military, language, media, schools and religion. The colonisers' masculinity automatically assumed a place of superiority and challenged the existence of other articulations of masculinities. It is safe to assume that men in constructing new masculinities, had to integrate into the redefined way of life. The imposition of white culture on the lives of Batswana as posited by the participants in extract 25, 26 and 27 above, brought a destruction to some of their society's key institutions, values and principles.

4.8 Resilient women stay in abusive relationships

In as much as men are socialised into viewing violence as a central notion of masculinity, women are also socialised into believing and internalizing the idea that violence towards them by men is a normal part of their lives. Participants also bring up an important narrative that traditionally, women stayed in violent relationships. Maundeni (2002) explains that in Botswana, women have been forced to stay in abusive relationships as a sign of strength and resilience. This could essentially give men more reason to keep using violence in relationships, ultimately killing them in some cases.

Extract 28

C: Older people could be beaten up, without reporting that they are abused. They held on to their marriages and relationships

A: Some parents advise their children to hold on

C: You must hold on to marriage. Even if your husband or boyfriend beats you up

D: Yah, even men knows that it is nothing. You beat her, she will forgive you because women are supposed to be resilient.

It appears from the extract above that the family plays a huge role in socialising men and women to accept violence as a necessary and normal part of their relationships. Men use it to communicate emotions they cannot articulate, and women perceive enduring this violence as a sign of their resilience and being true strong women. For example, Participant D comments, *'You beat her, she will forgive you because women are supposed to be resilient'.* It is important to understand the toxicity of this idea, and how it is a breeding ground for toxic masculinities and intimate relationships. When embracing this idea of violent spaces and resilience, women's voices are essentially taken away. The pressure to then display strength by women and fit the good woman standards reinforces staying in violent relationships. Men, on the other hand, are dis-empowered by the narrative and denied a chance to re-learn a more effective non-violent communicating strategies in conflicting situations. Just like the women, they assume and internalise the real man standard of using violence towards their partners.

The strong woman narrative is further reiterated in the exchanges captured in extract 29 and 30 below.

Extract 29

J: I don't think, I don't think your woman needs to fear you. Fear is not good, ahh no. Respect is good my man. Being respected as a man of the house. She needs to like respect you.

K: But how do you make sure you get that respect? Girls of nowadays are disrespectful. They are very disrespectful with their rights. They say they have rights everyday. They don't take us seriously as men, you need to ahhh make sure they do man. You get (laughs)

J: No man, I hear you but I still think it's not good to beat them up.

M: But it worked, it worked back in the old age, because women sort of knew men will hammer them. You know. If you were a man, if you were a woman and you were misbehaving or showing signs of misbehaving your man will just beat you up. Everybody knew this, the chiefs knew, the uncles knew that, even even in marriages, when you get married as a man you are told that you are the man of the house. And if your woman is disrespectful you must put your woman in line

L; exactly

M: You must put her in line, no woman should disrespect a man.

Extract 30

A: The traditional women could persevere.

B: Yes, traditional women were strong. Even if the old man working at the mines didn't bring cash.

A: He would go forever to the mines. Even if he comes back with 5 children. (Laughs)

B: They just say 'ohh my husband'

A: My man is back. That is why we have many relatives far away

Everyone: laughs

A: We have relatives in South Africa

Everyone: Laughs

A: These old men beat up the women. But the wives never divorced. You see? She held on.

Participants in Extract 29 discuss how are a man is perceived to have authority and should be feared. However, there is some contestation, in which one participant challenges the notion that men need to be feared. Participant J says '*I don't think your woman needs to fear you. Fear is not good, ahh no. Respect is good my man. Being respected as a man of the house. She needs to like respect you'.*

Participant K then challenges how the respect is earned *'But how do you make sure you get that respect? Girls of nowadays are disrespectful. They are very disrespectful with their rights.* This is interesting in that they are entitled to being respected, and blame 'rights' for enabling the disrespect.

Participant M in the Extract 29 above mentions how the use of violence towards women was tolerated and encouraged, particularly in the family and the community leadership in the form of Chiefs, as he says '*Everybody knew this, the chiefs knew, the uncles knew that, even even in marriages, when you get married as a man you are told that you are the man of the house. And if your woman is disrespectful you must put your woman in line'.* This further cements the normalisation of violent masculinities through social institutions and setups.

The participants posit that modernisation, and a cultural shift, influence(d) the way women responded to violent situations. Although the participants jokingly use the example of migrant labour to describe how men in Botswana left to work in the South African mines, it does not negate the violent positions women found themselves in. Apart from this shifting gender roles, some men never came back, leaving the women with the burden of taking care of the family and children. For those that came back, some, as Participant A jokingly points out, '*Even if he comes back with 5 children'.* The expectation was that being a good woman

entails accepting violence, exercising forgiveness and remaining in violent relationships (Maundeni, 2002; Phaladze & Tlou, 2006).

While discussing about the resilient women narrative, the participants shed light unto another important narrative. They seem to understand that the intimate femicide does not randomly occur, but rather, follows a series of abusive acts towards women, and tolerance by the women. This, they allude it to the violent masculinity men are socialised into, as well as the resilient narrative women are socialised into. This is another contradiction to the idea they hold and shared on Extract 29 and 30 above, that women must be forgiving, yet still blame them for staying in such relationships as captured in Extract 31 below. Once again, the participants themselves see and comment upon these contradictions. They encourage the idea that women must be more forgiving and resilient; but then problematise it by positing that it fuels violence in relationships.

Extract 31

C: The problem is these women are forgiving women. You must notice that for women who are killed in relationships, it didn't just start as a misunderstanding then she got killed. It starts as her being beaten up, then she lies saying she hit the table

A: Or she fell from the stairs

C: But this thing end up with them killed. Im not lying, you must notice that these women who get beaten by their men then lie to protect them, end up getting killed. Immediately after she gets beaten by the man, she must seek counselling, so that they may solve their issues amicably or they must break up.

B: He takes her to school

Dobash, Dobash, and Cavanagh (2009) reports that there is always some evidence of a history of violence in intimate relationships before intimate femicide can happen. This suggests a link between a history of violence in an intimate relationship and intimate

femicide. The perpetuation of the violence in the intimate relationship is facilitated by the condoning and tolerance of the use of violence. The victims often create excuses to mask the abusive behaviours of their partners, as Participant C remarks, '*It starts as her being beaten up, then she lies saying she hit the table*'. Although violence seems to be a central and tolerable theme in formation of masculinities, and ultimately in a patriarchal society, the participants understand that victims generally conceal the experiences of violence. This suggests that participants view violence as only tolerable if done in private, hence the easy perpetuation and maintenance of it in many intimate relationships. Furthermore, the conclusion of the narrative often thrusts the blame unto the actions of the woman (Matthews, 2010). Her behaviour/principles/ and any circumstance are scrutinised to find out how she may have 'provoked' the man. Ultimately, this diminishes the sense of accountability and responsibility on perpetrators (Kim & Motsei, 2010).

Below we see the participants attempting to legitimise killing of women by shifting the blame on women when he states:

Extract 32

A: What if the man spent a lot? Some men always act crazy. They build so many things at the woman's place that even their own mothers do not have. Imagine, when a man has built a house for you, and supporting your family. While his own mother is suffering. I could take her down too

This suggests that killing is legitimate, as long as the woman has provoked the man enough. However, participants note that the actual killing of women may be fueled by women rejecting violence in relationships and other traditional gender roles. The abuse in itself, is used a constant form of control and power (Abraham et al, 2006). However, when there is a perceived loss of control and power, through disrupted norms, killing may be used as the last resort (Alao, 2006, Taylor & Jasinki, 2011). These patriarchal norms are rejected due to

modernisation and a general cultural shift. Below is an exchange that underscores the position.

Extract 33

A: modernisation has made our women rebellious. It is a challenge. Modernisation doesn't just come with us seeing the developments that indeed Botswana has developed. It comes with challenges.

C: Yeah, modernisation has made our families to change so much. Men, women, we are all the same

D: Women are stubborn these days, and very arrogant.

Modernisation and a shifting culture disrupt the patriarchal patterns that demanded and continues to demand that women remain silent in abusive and violent spaces. Participants speaks of family setups changing because men and women are currently assuming similar gender roles. For example, Participant C comments, '*Men, women, we are all the same'.* This similarity speaks of opportunities for women, to access socio-economic spaces that they were previously denied. There has been a general increase in women's participation in the labour market, with around 71.8% of women in Botswana now actively participating (Honde & Abraha, 2015). Although women's earned income is generally lower than that of men, the effect of this on traditional gender roles cannot be ignored. Furthermore, women's access to education has increased. It is important to then analyse the effects of these access to opportunities by women, and general empowerment of women on how it affects constructs and expressions of masculinities.

4.9 Women empowerment/Feminism

There has been a significant increase of women's participation in both the political and economic arena (Ratele, 2008). Although women generally lag behind in this regard as compared to men, it is worth acknowledging and recognising the shift. It is important to get

an understanding of how this affects other facets of life like culture, religion, politics which essentially affects constructs of masculinities, and essentially the the perceptions on intimate femicide. Participants mention that intimate femicide, or passion killings as they are commonly referred to, is fuelled by the concept of 'women empowerment'.

Extract 34

B: Another one thing that is a factor in passion killings, the way I see it, is the empowerment of women. It is a factor because back then a woman could be beaten and there was nothing that could be done. You see?

A and D: laughs

B: Yes, she would submit, because she knew that she was not empowered. But nowadays, you can't beat a woman. When you hit her while trying to discipline her…

A, B, C, D: laughs

B: im not saying …

A: When you discipline her nowadays, she puts you in jail

B: Im not saying this was a good thing back then, im just saying now that they are empowered they can speak out. Say their rights. You see? Yes, they express themselves, and when you express your views towards a man, the way we are raised, it ends up with his emotions provoked. And he is used to a woman being suppressed. But nowadays women are empowered, when you tell them they can't do a certain thing obviously they will say 'no, you can't say that to me'.

The participants' viewing of the use of violence as discipline is a justification of abuse. The consequence of this viewpoint is that the justification of violence somehow lessens the burden on the perpetrator, and essentially places the blame on the woman for resisting to be disciplined. Mathews (2010) states that often times victims are blamed for having provoked perpetrators. A study by Abrahams, Jewkes, Laubscher and Hoffman (2006)

found that the more a perpetrator and the society at large justified abusing women, the more the abuse continued. As already established in this paper, the more one is exposed to abuse in a relationship, the more likely they are to then end up being killed (Jewkes, 2002; Moracco, Runyan, & Butts, 2003; Dobash, Dobash & Cavanagh, 2009). Abrahams et al., writes about the normative use of violence, and how it overlaps with men's attitudes towards gender equity. That is, the more men reject the notion of gender equity, the more likely they are to embrace the use of violence in relationships. In this focus group, there is a negative attitude towards women being empowered, and that is used as an excuse used to justify the use and normalcy of violence in intimate relationships.

Participants seem to shame and disregard women who reject norms that demand women's silence in relationships. Maundeni (2002) states that women who violate the expected patriarchal norms are often chastised, either by other women or men or both. Violence used against them is acceptable and normalised, more especially if they exhibit any contempt towards patriarchal norms. In the extract above, the participant B opines '*Yes, they express themselves, and when you express your views towards a man, the way we are raised, it ends up with his emotions provoked. And he is used to a woman being suppressed'.*

The participant brings to attention how men and women are socialised in how they relate with each other. Notably, there is an expectation of how women must express their disgruntlement towards their male counterparts. The preferred method is for the woman to not '*provoke*' the man and avoid showing signs of resistance towards the *'suppression'* they are subjected to in a relationship. The provocative issue here is not the woman expressing herself, but rather, how it disrupts and undermines the man's power and control in that particular relationship (Jewkes, et al., 2002; Mathews, 2010).

Below is an extract of an exchange between the participants on how women's talking back to them as men provokes them.

Extract 35

C: When a girl I date tells me her views, sometimes my emotions can get provoked but I won't hit her. I am defeated by the thought of what people would say if I were to hit her, even if I feel she really provoked me

B: mhhh. If you don't discipline her she will talk back all the time. These modern women don't know how to speak to men.

Extract 36

Researcher: So, why do you say men have to discipline women?

K: Cos nowadays women are disrespectful my sister. You have to do it. You cant say you walk away, you are the man.

M: and how many times will you walk away of relationships?

Researcher: So a man has to discipline the woman?

M: yes, a real man disciplines his woman

O: That is the only way to ensure a woman respects you. Once in a while.

From the exchange in Extract 36 above, the participants highlight a way in which they expect to be talked to as men, so as not to get provoked. It is also worth mentioning that in the Setswana culture, women are like children, and are not supposed to be 'heard' (Mookodi & Fuh, 2004). This is cemented and reproduced by Setswana proverbs like '*monna ga a botswe o tswa kae'*, which loosely translates to 'a man must not be asked about his whereabouts'. If a man gets questioned, this is perceived as a questioning and threat to his masculinity and its dominance and control. This concept is adopted by both women and men in the relationship and the society in general. Men use it as an integral part of their masculinity, to not be questioned by women in relationships even if they (men) do wrong (Togarasei, 2013). Furthermore, it essentially silences women and allows for them to stay in abusive relationships. It therefore makes sense that when the women express disgruntlements

in relationships, the men perceive it as belittling their masculinity and being antithetical to their existence. The men find it necessary to counteract this by 'disciplining' the women, as expressed by participant A, B and M, and the constant employment of the word 'discipline' in the dialogue.

However, the disciplining frame seems to rely on how people react to it, more than the discipline itself. The exchange continues with participants stating;

Extract 37

A: But *nowadays, you can't beat a woman. When you hit her while trying to discipline her…*

B: *When you discipline her, she puts you in jail*

C: But when I feel like beating her up, I think about what people would say, and that's the only thing that stops me.

A: It's your conscious

C: But others don't have that thing that stops them. I have the conscious, but they do not not have it that's why they beat them women. Sometimes you can beat up a woman without prior intention of beating her up. Sometimes you are talking about an issue, and she starts shouting and telling you about your cheating ways, Things like "ok, you also cheated me with Masego". Then you beat her up, so that she can keep quiet. Then she yells again, then you end up doing something bad. Like killing her. You see?

A: It becomes a big fight

B: Yes, Then you do things you were not supposed to do

A: When it started out as a small thing, if she had listened

This suggests that the normalcy of using violence is only threatened because of the fear that women are capacitated to report and put the perpetrators in jail, because of their 'empowerment'. It is not necessarily because the men find anything wrong with 'disciplining'

the women, but rather, they fear the repercussion that comes with disciplining women in a modern world of empowerment.

Furthermore, the justification and shifting the blame unto the victims is highlighted in the above exchange. Participant C gives a hypothetical scenario of him cheating in a relationship but expecting to be spoken to with 'respect'. It raises the idea that hyper-sexuality should be exclusive to men and is an important aspect of their masculinity (Kimmel, 2011). If this is questioned, the participant remarks '*Then you beat her up, so that she can keep quiet',* again noting the paternalistic attitude that embraces violence towards women who express disgruntlement in conflicting relationships. It also highlights the notion that violence, however the degree, is acceptable if women do not meet and uphold cultural expectations of being good women.

It is also important to interrogate why the participants only link empowerment with undermining and opposing gender relations, without viewing it as access to socio-economic and political opportunities that advance both men and women's lives. Hearn (2012) suggests that in gender equality/ women empowerment discourses, a suggestion of a change in gender roles and relations is often perceived as a threat to male power and dominance. Another reason why men may blame the women empowerment narrative, is because of the socio-economic and politic shift it attempts to bring in the gender discourse (Cornwall and White, 2000). This is viewed as a challenge to men's positionality, dominance, and control, and therefore it is used as reason enough to use violence as a response to this. The violence is viewed as the only articulation of masculinity that could be used to ascertain manhood.

Of particular interest, is the emphasis that women empowerment takes away the financial dependence of women on men. This is met with an insecurity and rejection from the participants, who reiterate how this influence the use of violence by men towards women. In

the extract below, participants dialogue about this insecurity and the perceived repercussions of feminism to their manhood.

Extract 38

B: A woman never stays if you are broke. You see feminism, sometimes I criticise it because they want to bring a woman to more of an equal with a man. It can't.

D: It can't.

B: We are not the same. Somethings will never happen. A woman really can't provide.

A: I mean if the woman was equal to the man in terms of finances, she would file for divorce immediately if you beat her

B: mhhhh, divorce. That's how it is.

A: When a woman is inferior financially, she holds on. She is respectful and makes you feel like a man. She hold on to the marriage.

B: An empowered woman on the other hand. No no

Once again, the participants reiterate the narrative that having money is a necessity in performing and articulating masculinity. The equality they speak of, is viewed as a complete swap of gender roles, particularly the role of providing. It is of interest that little thought is given to the realities of unemployment and poverty, and how women being financially independent could be of a complementary role to that of men. It is important to note once again that, masculinities are positioned in proximity to this role (Ratele, 2013). Cornwall and White (2000), states that hostility towards feminism or women empowerment initiatives by men, is brought about by perceived threat to the positions of power and dominance, economically and otherwise. Furthermore, the breadwinner ideology which is assigned to men is challenged by income generating women (Cornwall et al. al, 2000; Mookodi &Fuh, 2004).

Once again, the participants highlight the idea of tolerance towards beating women. However, the normalcy is reduced by the consequences that may arise from an empowered woman taking a decision that threatens the power relations, i.e., divorce or separation. Ratele (2015) posits that although some men embrace the ideology of feminism and women empowerment, others abhor it for its aim to disrupt patriarchy and consequently shift masculinities and how they are reproduced. The consequence, as already stated, is to use violence in order to counter this shift and demand control and power.

In the above extract, Participant A speaks of a respectful woman who '*makes you feel like a man'.* Part of the expectations demanded from this respectful woman is that she holds on to marriage, or any relationship despite the state of that particular relationship. This is reinforced by the women themselves, as Connell (1995) writes that women are often active gatekeepers of toxic masculinities. However, the 'empowered' woman is viewed with suspicion and contempt because of a fragile masculinity. In gender equity and feminist studies, it is perhaps necessary to find ways of re-imagining the discourse in ways that do not ostracise men and result in fear that may reproduce toxic masculinities. The idea is not to babysit and fetishise a toxic masculinity, but rather, to create a buy in into feminism and gender equity to dismantle the patriarchy as a social system.

Chapter 5: Conclusion and Limitations

Gender based violence, particularly towards women, has plagued many countries around the world. As a public health issue, gender-based violence is also a gross violation of basic human rights (Heise, 1998; Jewkes, 2002; Heise, Ellsberg & Goetmoller, 2002; Alao, 2006; Boonzaier, 2008; Ratele, 2008; Jankey, 2009; Thaler, 2010). The extreme result of gender-based violence is fatal, when women ultimately get killed by their intimate partners in what is termed 'intimate femicide' (Heise, 1998; Jewkes, 2002; Jewkes, Levin, & Penn-Kekana, 2002; Strange, 2003).

Although generally there is limited research on intimate femicide in developing countries, the studies done demonstrate the severity of the phenomena (Jewkes, 2002). However, in developing countries like Botswana, Namibia and Ghana, it is difficult to get official statistics. Most statistics are provided for by the media, i.e., newspapers (Mookodi & Fuh, 2004; Alao, 2006). Studies report that South Africa has the highest rate (8.8 per 100 000 female population 14 years and more) of reported intimate femicide cases anywhere in the world (Mathews, Abrahams, Martin, & Jewkes, 2004; Mathews, Jewkes & Abrahams, 2011). In Botswana, 69 cases of intimate femicide were registered between January and October 2005 (Alao, 2006). Between 2003 and 2006, there were 225 reported cases of intimate femicide with the Botswana Police.

In intimate partner killings, men are most frequently the perpetrators, hence the need to prioritise intimate femicide (Vettel, 1995; Andrikah, 1999; Dahlberg & Krug, 2002; Mathews, Abrahams, Martin, & Jewkes, 2004; Clowes, Lazarus & Ratele, 2010). It therefore follows that intimate femicide can be viewed as a crisis of patriarchy as a system (Alao, 2006). According to hooks (1984) and Lorde (2007), patriarchy allows for male dominance and superiority through various means, including the use of violence by men in intimate relationships. However, the study of masculinities and how masculinity is shaped remains a

lacuna in the gender-based violence discourse (Connell, 1987; Morrell, 1998; Connell, 2003; Ratele, 2006, Ratele, 2008).

This study was undertaken to attend to the needs highlighted above, which are to contribute to knowledge and existing literature regarding understanding masculinities and intimate femicide using Gaborone, Botswana as a point of reference. The aim of the study was to i) gain an understanding of how a sample of men in Botswana make sense of their manhood; ii) investigate how this sample of men perceive intimate femicide, focusing specifically on how their conceptions of masculinity impact on their perception of gender violence; iii), to increase awareness amongst members of the society by acknowledging the nature and intensity of intimate femicide as it currently experienced in Botswana. Furthermore, the study found that there is a need for social science research on constructions of masculinities and intimate femicide in Botswana, and a further need to document official statistics regarding these occurrences.

I was interested in exploring some of the normative ideas the participants have about masculinity. The study did not look at perpetrators of intimate femicide, but rather at normal expressions of masculinities in a normative context in which pathological expressions of masculinity become possible. Nine themes in total were identified and are summarised in the paragraphs below.

5.1 Defining what a man is, is hard

The participants centralised the discussion of what a man is, on the idea of an existence of a ‘real man’. The participants displayed a difficulty in pinning down what the notion of a man is. They rather noted a series of behaviours, values, roles and performances men aspire to, in order to be viewed as men. The participants also spoke of changing spaces, cultural inconsistencies and contradictions within which men perform masculinity. Some of the spaces brought to the discussion includes the economical configuration of the time. These

changing spaces dictate not only how the men relate with themselves, but how they relate with others as well. The participants further established what it means to be a man by interrogating the patterns and meaning of their relations with females and other males.

In conclusion, the study found that, in line with the findings of various masculinity scholars, there is no singular and overarching definition of masculinity. Masculinity articulates itself through multiple forms and activities that are deemed successful articulations of masculinity in different societies at different times and in different spaces. This pinpoints the hierarchical characteristic of masculinity. It is important for studies of masculinities to deeply interrogate the lived experiences of men in relation to the continuously changing historical and cultural spaces they find themselves in.

5.2 Financial Prowess: 'Money makes a man'

The study found that having money was identified as a key requisite of performing masculinity. Participants not only spoke of the actual possession of money, but also how it enables other masculinity articulations and roles. Having money is also perceived as a requisite by people men co-exist with, in this instance, women. Money is perceived as increasing access to women, and conquering of women, herein viewed as objects. An important aspect is the ability to assume the role of providing for women, which this study found that men view as exclusively theirs. The ability to provide enables an unspoken dominance and control of women, and other men. In instances where men fail to provide for women in relationships, is viewed as a form of emasculation. In situations were other men perform this function better, men report an anxiety, insecurity and inferiority towards those men. Blaming women for demanding money or choosing men with money reiterate these anxieties when speaking of intimate femicide cases.

In conclusion, having money is recognized as an important social function of men. This social function is valued for its ability and potential to influence relations between men,

and women, particularly that of providing for women. This notion of masculinity here supports a kind of financialisation of relationships which objectifies the men being a provider, and the women being provided for, which participants contested with. In the current economic configuration of unemployment, it is important to then interrogate ways in which this financial climate is adding to a toxic masculinity. Furthermore, new masculinities that are not dependent on finances need to be shaped.

5.3 Soldiers take our women, and kill them

This study found out that participants posit that men who are soldiers, are to blame for the increase in intimate femicide incidents in Botswana. Participants speaks of men in the military as an outside group that has internalised the use of violence, and articulates their masculinity differently, in relation to women and other men. This gives an idea into the hierarchical nature of masculinity, and its access to the patriarchal dividend. From the contestation between the participants in the focus groups, the non-militarised masculinity seemingly judges and advocates for limited relations with the militarised masculinity because of its violence. The participants in the focus groups seem to be aware that violence often exists in intimate relationships, before the actual killing of the victim. The participants somewhat shifted the blame unto another type of masculinity, and in the process distanced themselves.

5.4 Upbringing is Important: Where do you learn to be a proper man?

This study found that boys and men report to learning about ideal gendered behaviours and activities from their families. These learnt behaviours, principles and ideals do not exist in a vacuum, but rather, are articulated in relation to men (themselves) and to other men and women. The discussants perceive boys who observe the use of violence in their families or communities, as being highly likely to positioning violence as a central component of their masculinity. From the contestations in the focus groups, there is an

acknowledgement of a shift in family setups, particularly absent fathers in families. The absent fathers are viewed as abandoning their responsibilities of taking care and socialising their children. When dialoguing about the reasons for men abandoning their responsibilities, the discussants mentioned that men are disabled from performing successful masculinities in social institutions like the family due to a lack of money. This is perceived as affecting gender roles and producing a tension and uncertainty about where to learn the appropriate ways of becoming men. The conservative argument brought forth suggests a tension and shifting the blame unto the role of women. This shift in family setups also bring an important point; that women significantly contribute to the construction of masculinities in a society. It is therefore important to then analyse the role of women in a patriarchal setup, in relation to (re)producing and sustaining harmful masculinities that eventually affect them and men negatively.

In conclusion, the family is a key institution that re-produces forms of masculinities, including a violent masculinity. The participants do acknowledge the problematic-ness of this use of violence and suggests that help is needed. There is a suggestion that counselling be offered to couples, or anyone who exhibits the use of violence in intra-personal relationships. However, there is some anxieties about counselling, as participants opine that it is a 'white' people's thing. There is therefore a need to interrogate counselling measures in their current configuration, and how it serves the population.

5.5 We learn from TV

This study found that the media, particular the television (TV), is perceived as being responsible for shaping some of the articulations of masculinity. It is also responsible for normalising violent dynamics in interpersonal and intimate relationships. Media is brought to the fore as a powerful socialising tool that men use to gauge how successfully they perform masculinities, inwardly and in relation to other masculinities. Technology and social media,

particularly Facebook, is also brought in the discussion as a platform men use to inform their expressions of masculinity, and tolerance to violent relationships. It is necessary to acknowledge and interrogate the emerging social platforms that are used as socialisation tools. The social media space informs the desirable standards of articulations of masculinity in relation to others, in this case, women. The social media space is also used to inform men, on whether they are successfully performing masculinity or not.

It is therefore important to interrogate the technological space and its role in shaping gender norms. It is also important to interrogate bodies occupying this technological space, and whether this could be a leverage point in shifting attitudes and behaviours of how men should articulate masculinity and eliminate violence in relationships.

5.6 God is about to come

This study also found out that participants also used a religious gaze underpinned on the Christian teachings to make sense of intimate femicide. They viewed the occurrence of these incidents as a sign and affirmation of the coming of Christ/God. Botswana has a Christian dominated population (Lekorwe, Molomo, Molefe, Sebudubudu, Mokgatlhe & Moseki, 2005). The second coming of Christ in the Christian religion is one of the pinnacles of the Christian belief and is generally understood to be an event bringing about devastating happenings and anxieties of life. The participants not only used a religious gaze to make sense of intimate femicide, but they also used it to inform their masculinity constructs. The participants referenced the Bible as a book of authority, when discussing how they should be treated as men. The discussants also spoke of how they ought to assume dominance and control in relationships, as per the Bible. In conclusion, religion as an institution serves as a backdrop that the discussants use to inform social happening. They also somewhat attributed the occurrences to ‘special times’, thereby diminishing their own role in creating and sustaining a violent masculinity. There is a leverage point for churches and other religious

institutions to re-create healthy masculinities that do not allow for male dominance and help in the fight against intimate femicide in Botswana.

5.7 Colonialism Ruined our culture

This study also found that the participants believe that the reason for escalating intimate femicide cases is the deteriorating Tswana culture due to Western influences and colonialism. The participants view their culture as diluted, and thus, attribute the brutality and violence of masculinity to Eurocentric/Western/colonial influences. The discussants opines that Batswana are adopting and mimicking behaviours, principles, and values that are perceived to be White. Although the discussants hailed and used the Christian religion as a reference point in making sense of intimate femicide and constructs of masculinities, they separated Christianity from colonialism. They instead viewed colonialism in its entirety as a bad influence, without attending to the fact that Christianity, as a religion came through colonisation, and is also flawed.

In conclusion, in as much as participant shift the blame unto other factors, i.e., white culture, it is also important to analyse imperial influences on black African masculinities, and the consequence of such. The role played by colonialism in transforming pre-colonial masculinities and influencing the creation of new masculinities must also be analysed. The imposition of white/European culture and standards on the lives of Batswana may have brought destruction to some of their key institutions. In engaging on the decoloniality project in Africa, harmful and toxic aspects of colonial masculinities must be attended to, to re-create healthy masculinities.

5.8 Resilient women stay in abusive relationships

The discussants view the perpetuation of intimate femicide as rife, because women nowadays insist on leaving violent relationships thereby disrupting power relations. This is in juxtaposition to traditional women, who, according to the discussants, were more resilient

and held onto relationships. In as much as men are socialised into viewing violence as a central notion of masculinity, women are also socialised into believing and internalizing the idea that violence towards them by men is a normal part of their lives. This could essentially give men more reason to keep using violence in relationships, ultimately killing them in some cases. The discussants perceive this internalising of violence by women as a sign of resilience and being true strong women. This idea is toxic in itself, as it is a breeding ground for toxic masculinities and violent intimate relationships. When embracing this idea of violent spaces and resilience, women's voices are essentially taken away. Men, on the other hand, are dis-empowered by the narrative and denied a chance to re-learn more effective non-violent communicating strategies in conflicting situations. Although violence seems to be a central and tolerable theme in formation of masculinities, and ultimately in a patriarchal society, the participants understand that victims generally conceal the experiences of violence. This suggests that participants view violence as only tolerable if done in private, hence the easy perpetuation and maintenance of it in many intimate relationships.

5.9 Women empowerment/Feminism is to blame

This study found out that participants perceive the concept of 'women empowerment' and feminism negatively. The ideology is blamed for creating problems in intimate relationships and being a main reason in the perpetuation of intimate femicide. The participants only linked women empowerment with undermining and opposing gender relations, without viewing it as women's access to socio-economic and political opportunities that advance both men and women's lives. This is viewed as a challenge to men's positionality, dominance and control, and used as reason enough to use violence as a response mechanism. The participants linked women empowerment with a system that makes women resist the concept of submission in a relationship. Submission herein insisting on the acceptance of the use of violence, which the participants view as 'discipline'. The

consequence of this viewpoint is that the justification of violence as discipline somehow lessens the burden on the perpetrator, and essentially places the blame on the woman for resisting to be disciplined.

Participants seem to shame and disregard women who reject norms that demand women's silence in relationships. The discussants also emphasised that women empowerment takes away the financial dependence of women on men. This was met with an insecurity and rejection from the participants, who opines how this influence the use of violence by men towards women. As already established, having money is viewed as a key requisite of a successful masculinity.

Gender equity and feminist studies should re-imagine how knowledge and scholarship of the feminist discourse is transferred to the society. It is important to not ostracise men from the feminist thought. The idea is not to coddle a toxic and violent masculinity, but rather, to create a buy in into feminism and gender equity to unlearn toxic masculinities in a patriarchal system then eliminate violence in intimate relationships.

In conclusion, this study found that participants generally acknowledge and problematise the toxicity of masculinity expressions in the intimate femicide and gendered violence phenomena. However, there are some contradictions in their own constructions, as they (participants) explore ways of making sense of and dealing with tensions in different spaces where their masculinity becomes salient. They recognise the societal changes that affect constructions of masculinity and the experience of being men, however, they also still contest these changes and their demands by holding on to conservative, traditional masculinity constructs – ones which often still express superiority and dominance over women. They further tend to locate the blame of this burden on factors outside themselves, thereby diminishing their active role in co-creating and maintaining the status quo. Intimate feminicide is linked to pathologies of masculinity, but it becomes something extraordinary,

located on a plane outside their own experience of masculinity. Some of the external factors include other forms of masculinity, i.e., men with financial prowess, and militarised masculinities, underscoring the hegemonic masculinity traits. They further shift the blame unto a white culture (read colonialism), which they perceive as destroying their traditional institutions that cemented gender roles. This brings a tension towards feminism/women empowerment, which is viewed as also coming with the white culture and is perceived as disrupting gender roles and diminishing the power men occupy in relationships and the society in general.

5.10 Significance of the Study

As already mentioned in the thesis, intimate femicide is not adequately documented in various countries including Botswana. Although men are largely the perpetrators in killing their intimate partners, there exists a lacuna in the study of men and how they become men in violent patriarchal societies. This study on masculinity constructs and perception of intimate femicide is one of the few and first in the country. This adds to a limited body of scholarship, knowledge and thought on understanding expressions of masculinities and the centrality of violence in those expressions.

Needless to say, **t**here is limited research, and knowledge on masculinities and intimate femicide in Botswana. This restricted the literature and references the researcher could draw from. Furthermore, Botswana has a population of approximately 2 million people, with differing linguistic and cultural backgrounds. Furthermore, the participants were recruited from the capital city Gaborone only, and from specific contexts, thus, making the sample to not be representative.

5.11 Reflections

As Hearn (2013) stated, feminist research highlights the importance of examining intersectional power relations during the research process. It is also important to interrogate all aspects, including questions of reflexivity, emotions about an area of research, as well as relations between the researcher and the researched. These questions and contestations also exist in masculinity research. In this section, I attempt to locate myself in this research process and reflect on my position as a woman researcher interviewing exclusively men as participants. Interviewing these participants who were exclusively men was a challenge to me as a woman researcher.

I was constantly aware that I am a woman, and as a woman discussing men 'issues' with men in firstly brought some suspicion on the participants side. In the beginning of the focus group discussions, they were somewhat reluctant to speak, particularly with a seriousness. I, on the other hand, was somewhat intimidated by their presence as I had to negotiate between being polite and expressing that politeness while at the same time using some sort of firmness and control as the researcher. Because of my familiarity with feminist critiques of patriarchy and male power, this created a discomfort knowing that in that very space and time, I had more power as a 'researcher'. The discomfort was brought up by the question that 'how do these men feel about a young woman researcher holding more power and being authoritative in terms of directing this interview'. I felt that the participants were near mocking my authority, as a way of dealing with their own discomfort of this power shift. At the beginning of the discussions, they overly used humour, and laughed a lot and were uncontrollable. However, as the discussions unfolded, the participants seemed to ignore my presence and conversed deeper about the issues.

Being around men and discussing gendered violence with them was a necessary yet heavy experience. I constantly reflected upon the question I encountered in reading literature

on masculinities ‘is masculinity studies a threat to the feminist agenda?’. I somewhat felt guilty that I was ‘siding’ with men, even though I clearly understand the intention of feminism and masculinity studies. I had to be as objective as possible, although some of the comments they made towards women in general felt like a personal attack. In doing the analysis, I may have missed some important moments due to these emotions. I envied their position of being men; to be able to talk about gender violence and laugh, while I and other women who constantly fear for our lives in a patriarchal society cannot be afforded that liberty. I dealt with some of these emotions through journaling.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Informed Consent form

UNIVERSITEIT•STELLENBOSCH•UNIVERSITY
jou kennisvennoot • your knowledge partner

STELLENBOSCH UNIVERSITY

CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH

Topic: When love kills: Constructs of masculinities within an intimate femicide crises in Botswana.

You are asked to participate in a research study conducted by Lorato Palesa Modongo, MA (Psychology) student under the supervision of Prof Desmond Painter, Lecturer in the department of Psychology at Stellenbosch University. The results will contribute to a research paper at the end of the studies.

PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

This study will focus on a sample of Batswana men and aims to investigate explore and gain a deeper understanding of how their masculinity is constructed in understanding, viewing and making sense of intimate femicide.

1. **PROCEDURES**

If you volunteer to participate in this study, we would ask you to do the following things:

- Due to COVID 19 regulations, your hands will be sanitised by the researcher

- Due to the COVID 19 regulations, your hands will be sanitised by the researcher.
- Your body temperature will be taken by the researcher.
- You are to maintain a social distance with other participants and the researcher.
- Your mask should be always worn properly.
- We will start the discussion with you and the other men, facilitated by the researcher.
- We require that the mode of communication be English.
- You are expected to give an opinion on the various questions to be asked.
- Please respect other participants viewpoints and opinions.
- The discussion will take about 30 minutes of your time.

2. POTENTIAL RISKS AND DISCOMFORTS

The foreseeable risk in you participating in this study is that you will experience discomfort discussing some issues, like the murdering of people, rape, and sexual assault, but you are free not to partake in this study if it does not make you comfortable.

3. POTENTIAL BENEFITS TO SUBJECTS AND/OR TO SOCIETY

The subject will benefit by getting insight on how they construct masculinities, as well as learning and debunking myths about various critical issues surrounding intimate femicide.

PAYMENT FOR PARTICIPATION

The participant will not receive any form of payment for participating in the study. However, snacks will be provided during the focus meeting.

4. CONFIDENTIALITY

Any information that is obtained in connection with this study and that can be identified with you will remain confidential and will be disclosed only with your permission or as required by law. Confidentiality will be maintained by means of keeping the recorded

and transcribed data with my supervisor, who will destroy and properly discard the data at the end of the study. When reporting the results of the study, no names will be mentioned, but rather pseudonyms will be used, and no identifiable data will be used. No information will be released to any third party.

5. PARTICIPATION AND WITHDRAWAL

You can choose whether to be in this study or not. If you volunteer to be in this study, you may withdraw at any time without consequences of any kind. You may also refuse to answer any questions you do not want to answer and still remain in the study. The investigator may withdraw you from this research if circumstances arise which warrant doing so. The circumstances that will see you being withdrawn from the study are; if you cause potential harm to other participants through disrespecting and belittling their opinions and causing general disruption in the discussion group.

6. IDENTIFICATION OF INVESTIGATORS

If you have any questions or concerns about the research, please feel free to contact Prof D Painter (dpainter@sun.ac.za ; 021 808 3458)

7. RIGHTS OF RESEARCH SUBJECTS

You may withdraw your consent at any time and discontinue participation without penalty. You are not waiving any legal claims, rights or remedies because of your participation in this research study. If you have questions regarding your rights as a research subject, contact Ms Maléne Fouché [mfouche@sun.ac.za; 021 808 4622] at the Division for Research Development.

SIGNATURE OF RESEARCH SUBJECT OR LEGAL REPRESENTATIVE

The information above was described to *me* by *Lorato Palesa Modongo* in *English* and *I the participant is* in command of this language or it was satisfactorily translated to me. *I was* given the opportunity to ask questions and these questions were answered to *my* satisfaction.

I hereby consent voluntarily to participate in this study. I have been given a copy of this form.

_____

Name of Subject/Participant

_____

Name of Legal Representative (if applicable)

_____ _____

Signature of Subject/Participant or Legal Representative Date

SIGNATURE OF INVESTIGATOR

I declare that I explained the information given in this document to _____ *He*/she was encouraged and given ample time to ask me any questions. This conversation was conducted in *English* and *no translator was used.*

_____ _____

Signature of Investigator Date

Appendix B: Focus group Questions Schedule

Thank you for agreeing to be a part of this research study. My name is Lorato P. Modongo and today we will be talking and discussing how as a man you understand, view and makes sense of intimate femicide (Passion killings).

This session will be recorded for data purposes and for further analysis. The recorded sessions will only be accessed by me, the researcher and my supervisor.

- Please feel to speak your mind on the relevant topic. There is no correct or incorrect answer and no judgement whatsoever will be made from your answers.
- All the data collected will be handled with great confidentiality, anonymity and will only be made available to the researchers.
- If at any time during the interview, you wish to withdraw from the study, you are free to do so.

The interview questions will be open-ended, to serve as a guide for the participant's narratives, and further questions will be asked based on the answers.

Guiding Questions

- What would you say makes or defines a man in Botswana?

- Within intimate relationships, and in general, what are the expectations from men in Botswana in how they relate with their partners, and with others?
- Do you know what intimate femicide or passion killings are?
- According to you, what are the major causes of this?
- How do these killings affect the general society of Botswana?
- What do you think can be done to prevent these causes of intimate femicide/Passion killings that you earlier talked about?
- What do you make of people who kill their partners?
- In your opinion, what do you think could be done in Botswana to eliminate or greatly prevent cases of intimate femicide?